The Outlook

OCTOBER 13, 1920

THE GAMBLERS AND THE BALL PLAYERS

THE more the facts become known as regards bribery and game-selling in baseball, the more evident is it that the professional gambler is at the root of the evil. Not that this is an excuse for the players who sold out their club, their city, and the tens of thousands of ardent admirers who "rooted" for them in full faith that they were seeing an honest contest. One, at least, of these players received a salary of $10,000 for his summer's work and

THE GAMBLING BEAST

A cartoon by Homer Davenport, reprinted from Mr. A. G. Spalding's "America's National Game." It refers to baseball scandals forty-five years ago, which led to a reform like that now going on

was sure of a bonus of some thousands of dollars (player's share) from the World's Series even if his club failed to win the championship. The players cheated simply and solely because they coveted crooked money. All honor to the "square guys" in the White Sox! No one *dared* to approach Ed Collins, for instance.

Briber and bribed are equally guilty. But public betting with professional gamblers is a matter of rather recent growth as regards the sport of baseball. One such "syndicate" of gamblers is said to have won $200,000 on one ball game, and it is reported that gamblers won $2,000,000 on the World's Series of 1919—sold out by bribed players.

Lovers of the National game are up in arms to stop this kind of thing. One proposal is that men of public prominence and recognized integrity who are interested in baseball as a sport, and not in a business way, should be placed on the National Commission—the joint commission which acts as final court of resort for the two major leagues. Ex-President Taft's name is one of those suggested. Congressman Longworth declares that National legislation should control gambling. One of the best baseball writers, Mr. W. O. M'Geehan, of the New York "Tribune," says a word in season well worth quoting:

> It is not fair that the exposures at Chicago should create suspicion against the entire professional game, but the stunning fact remains that there was crookedness, and on a big scale, in professional baseball. . . .
>
> But what of the sure-thing gamblers? What of those higher up, the men who plotted this thing and carried it through, the parasites who preyed on the weakness of character of these unfortunate creatures? So far there seems to be no strong chance of them being convicted and punished. The cities where organized baseball flourishes must aid in bringing them to justice, and the Federal Government must aid, for if they go unpunished they will keep up their work, never, perhaps, in baseball again, but in other lines. They will continue to make criminals of the young and the weak with their whispers of "easy money." This exposure should awaken the country not only to the menace to baseball but to the National character.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S APPEAL

WHAT he calls "the most momentous issue that has ever been presented to the people of the United States" is the subject of an appeal to the people of the country issued by President Wilson on October 3. Presumably on account of his illness, the President has not so far taken any active part in the campaign, and this utterance is naturally and justly regarded as one of the most important political occurrences since the nominating Conventions. As in his appeal to the voters just before the Congressional elections in 1918, President Wilson regards the coming election as a verdict upon his policies and his course of action. He speaks of the election as a "genuine National referendum." The people themselves by this election are to give "a sovereign mandate to their representatives" and "to instruct their own Government what they wish done." The subject of that mandate he puts in these words:

> The chief question that is put to you is, of course: Do you want your country's honor vindicated and the Treaty of Versailles ratified? Do you in particular approve of the League of Nations as organized and empowered in that Treaty? And do you wish to see the United States play its responsible part in it?

President Wilson avers that the people of the country have been misled with regard to the Treaty and the

John Cassel in the New York Evening World

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"GET OUT OF THE GAME!"

League. He sets forth America as "the light of the world" and he declares "this light the opponents of the League would quench." He reminds the country of the great expectations which the United States created in other nations by entering the war and helping to bring it to a victorious conclusion. He denies emphatically that the League would make it possible for other nations to lead us into war, and asserts that "those who drew the Covenant of the League were careful that it should contain nothing which interfered with or impaired the constitutional arrangements of any of the great nations which are to constitute its members." Not content with asserting his own interpretation of the Covenant, the President expresses his feelings about those who oppose that interpretation. "They have gone so far," he says, "that those who have spent their lives, as I have spent my life, in familiarizing themselves with the history and traditions and policies of the Nation, must

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stand amazed at the gross ignorance and impudent audacity which have led them to attempt to invent an 'Americanism' of their own, which has no foundation whatever in any of the authentic traditions of the Government."

These words of the President may tend to stiffen the wills and stimulate the action of those who are already committed to his doctrines, but they will not tend to persuade those who have taken another point of view, or even incline to his side those who have been doubtful. Such extreme and impassioned utterances on matters which have proved to be debatable are not persuasive, and they tend to increase the distrust of those Americans who have felt that the Government has been too much under the control and direction of a single will.

MR. BORAH AND MR. CROWELL

Two statements just made are of particular interest to those who are watching the trend of the Presidential campaign.

One is by Senator Borah, of Idaho. His general position was outlined in a speech at Danbury, Connecticut:

> The real question which this whole League scheme presents to the average citizen is this: Shall we go into Europe and take upon ourselves . . . the turmoil, the strife, the racial conflicts, and the imperialistic schemes of the Old World, or shall we stay out? . . . Whether you call the scheme a League, a concert of powers, an alliance, or an association—they all lead you to Europe and place upon the already bended backs of the American taxpayers their exploitation and waste, and upon the shoulders of American youth the military burden which must eventually grow out of this scheme.

The second statement is from Benedict Crowell, former Assistant Secretary of War, who served as right-hand man to Secretary Baker during the World War. Mr. Crowell had to do with the general administration of the War Department with the exception of questions of policy and a few special activities; during Mr. Baker's several absences in Europe Mr. Crowell was Acting Secretary of War. Mr. Crowell supported President Wilson in 1912 and 1916. He does not propose to support him in 1920. In an interview, reported in the New York "Tribune," Mr. Crowell says:

> It seems evident that Governor Cox is making many promises regarding the League which he may not be able to fulfill. . . .
>
> An efficient Administration, in my opinion, is the great issue in this election. Senator Harding's election will, I believe, insure more efficiency in the Government than will the election of Governor Cox, who has been compelled to accept the reluctant support of certain members of the present Administration *who could contribute little to the strength of the next Administration.*

The italics are our own. These words have special significance coming from one who has had experience in the present Administration.

A REPUBLICAN ELDER STATESMAN

Murray Crane is dead, sixty-seven years old. He was a wise, sagacious, silent man. He was modest and retiring. Of great wealth, he was unostentatious and of simplest manner and habit—he used to smoke two-cent stogies, not that he did not enjoy better cigars, but the others were good enough for him! He shrank from prominence. He had no thirst for the newspaper headlines. Moreover, in his familiar talk there was never any braggadocio or self-advertising. To such a man people are apt to turn when they want advice or assistance. And they did—politicians and others.

Mr. Crane was himself also a politician in very truth. One of his Democratic opponents, Senator Harrison, of Mississippi, has said, "The Republican party never had a shrewder politician." Mr. Crane was also a statesman. He, it is claimed, was the ultimate source of the plan which President Roosevelt adopted for settling the anthracite strike of 1912. Mr. Roosevelt had a high opinion of Mr. Crane, and was therefore all the more disappointed when in 1912 the Massachusetts Senator found himself not in sympathy with the Progressive movement—indeed, Mr. Crane became one of the most subtly powerful members of the Old Guard, inexorably opposing Theodore Roosevelt, and wielded great influence in the Republican Convention of that year, as also in that of 1916.

The Crane paper mills are particularly famous because of the manufacture of the paper on which the Government greenbacks, National bank notes, and Government bonds have been printed. While he was yet in his teens Winthrop Murray Crane, grandson of the founder of the great manufacturing industry in the Berkshires, entered the mills in the humblest capacity and worked his way to the top. So it was not until comparatively late in life that he entered public office. In 1896 he was elected Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts and was twice re-elected. In 1899 he was elected Governor and was also twice re-elected. In 1904, upon Senator Hoar's death, Governor Crane was elected to fill out the unexpired term, and at its end was returned to the Senate for another term. He retired from that body in 1913. With a single break of four years, Senator Crane was a member of the Republican National Committee from 1892 to the Republican Convention of last June, when he gave way to Senator Weeks. Mr. Crane's retiral coincided with his unsuccessful effort to have a particular form of assertion appear in the Republican platform approving the Treaty of Versailles and, with effective reservations, the League of Nations as embodied therein.

THE LEGION'S SOLID FRONT

When an organization wins a tribute from those who are doubtful of its purpose and value, it receives the highest compliment that can be paid. Partisans are easy to convince of the justice of their own cause. It is accessions from the opposing ranks which is the real test of arguments or causes.

We have received from a writer who has been inclined to be critical of the American Legion a letter which tells the story of the second annual Convention of the Legion. Because this account is in the main a significant tribute of the type which we have described, we quote from it at some length. Our correspondent writes:

"It was a solid front that the American Legion presented to the country at its second annual Convention in Cleveland last week. That must have come as a surprise to the very large proportion of public opinion that believed the Legion to be more an accumulation of posts than a well-knit organization of posts.

"The greatest single accomplishment was the decision of the Legion to keep out of politics. Not only was that the wish of the majority of its members, but it was the hope of the country at large. By their decision the delegates have expressed that wish and fulfilled that hope.

"It is gratifying that the first thought of the Convention and the first purpose of the new officers is for the disabled. The problems of vocational training and of compensation have been continuously vexatious. The agencies responsible for these services have been continuously criticised. The feeling that their failure has been due chiefly to lack of unity in

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direction is widespread. The Legion now comes out for co-ordination of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, the rehabilitation division of the Federal Board for Vocational Education, and that part of the Public Health Service that deals with ex-service men and women. It favors the plan, already advocated by others, of the creation of a special department of the Government, to be directed by a Cabinet officer, who preferably shall be an ex-service man. This is deserving of consideration. The example has been well set abroad, where special ministers have been appointed to look after the interests of those who served their country.

"In the matter of the bonus the Legion took the action that was ex-

(C) Underwood & Underwood

GENERAL FAYOLLE, FRENCH VISITOR TO THE AMERICAN LEGION

pected of it. The knowledge was general that posts throughout the country were in favor of the optional plan put before Congress by those leaders of the Legion who conducted its destinies last year. Primarily, however, the Legion is for the bonus. It wants a cash bonus preferably. No one who attended the Convention can be mistaken about that."

THE LEGION AND POLITICS

ALTHOUGH our corrrespondent praises the Legion's declaration that it would keep out of politics, nevertheless he feels that in one respect the Convention of the Legion did violence to its enunciated principle. He writes:

"Less happy, however, was the decision of the Legion to act upon the Japanese problem. In that matter the Convention favored abrogating the 'gentleman's agreement' existing between the Governments of the two countries, exclusion of 'picture brides,' and restriction of Japanese immigration. Action was precipitated by delegations from the Pacific slope; opposition came almost solely from New York. The South was with the West, as was to be expected; the East, with the exception of the Empire State, was silent. The danger lies not so much in the merits of the decision as in its advisability; to many minds it will appear that, in spite of its decision not to enter politics, by its action on the Japanese question the Legion actually has entered politics. This view the new National Commander, Colonel F. W. Galbraith, does not share. He has stated that the Japanese question is one of international policy, and that the Legion is well within its rights in passing judgment on it."

On the issue as thus drawn we are inclined to side with the Legion rather than with our correspondent. It seems to us that there is a real distinction between the support of party candidates and the support of principles of action and plans for National policy. The danger that lies in the attempt to voice the opinion of the Legion in matters of principle or policy is to be found, not in the injection of party politics, but in the fact that the Legion may be made to voice the opinion of the few in control rather than of the many in the ranks.

We believe that the Legion is entitled to express its opinion on questions of National policy. While our correspondent disagrees with us on this point, he agrees with us that, if the Legion is to attempt to pass judgment on National problems, there is a great need for sound leadership. Our correspondent continues:

"Colonel Galbraith, fortunately, seems to be well qualified for that leadership."

We publish on this page a portrait of Colonel Galbraith, and also of General Fayolle, who represented the French Government at the Convention of the American Legion. General Fayolle was the commander of the Sixth Army. His most noteworthy victory was that of Noyon-Montdidier, which saved Amiens in the spring of 1918.

THE RULE OF UNREASON IN IRELAND

IT would be valuable to know how many of the Irish people are partisans and extremists, and how many are so disturbed by the evils now rampant in Ireland because of unreason and partisanship that they would welcome a proposal for Ireland's future based on mutual concessions and securities for peace and self-government within the Empire.

Viscount Grey's plan would seem to be a reasonable proposal for all but extremists and fanatics. But, in point of fact, it has met with fierce opposition both by Sinn Fein and by the Ulsterites. Briefly stated, Lord Grey proposes that Ireland should be a Dominion, as Canada is. He declares that for the islands of Great Britain and Ireland "there can be only one foreign policy, one army, and one navy," and that an actual division between the two which would mean independence for Ireland in these matters is no more to be ac-

International

COLONEL GALBRAITH, THE NEW COMMANDER OF THE AMERICAN LEGION

cepted by the British Empire than was the proposal of the Southern States to secede in this country. Otherwise, he would have the Irish people as free as other peoples of the great self-governing Dominions to carry on the internal affairs of all Ireland. In order to give time for the arranging of the new plan of government, Lord Grey proposes that for not over two years the British Government should continue to govern Ireland.

This plan would leave to the entire Irish people the possibility of agreeing upon such a scheme of Home Rule and self-government as would be workable and fair. How badly some moderate course is needed is shown in Lord Grey's own declaration that "the Government has been unable to punish or prevent the constant murder of those who serve it; in parts of Ireland its authority has apparently ceased and been superseded by Sinn Fein courts, from

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VISCOUNT EDWARD GREY

which alone can any redress be obtained for ordinary crime or wrong-doing."

It was to be expected that such a proposal would meet with refusal from Sinn Fein, which has put itself in the attitude of refusing everything except absolute national independence. But even fiercer dissent comes from the other factions of extremists. Thus Sir Edward Carson declares that "a more hopeless suggestion never emanated from the brain of a statesman." It means, Sir Edward goes on to assert, "Abandon all those who are loyal to the crown, leave them to the tender mercies of their Sinn Fein fellow-countrymen, and if the Irish murder one another and exalt themselves in the slaughter we will look on without concern or responsibility."

It cannot be said that the plan suggested by Viscount Grey, constructive and reasonable as it is in theory, has done much to point the way to an actual settlement of the Irish difficulty. Meanwhile an intolerable condition of what has come to be almost guerrilla warfare continues in many places. The Chief Secretary for Ireland declares that 103 policemen have been murdered and 170 wounded. The Sinn Feiners retort with the charge that the so-called reprisals by police and soldiers have laid villages in ruin, destroyed a great number of houses, and caused the killing without trial of many innocent men. Lord Robert Cecil, in a letter to the London "Times," scores the Government for weakness both in failing to keep order in Ireland and in failing to repress reprisals, declaring that "the republican crime outrages are bad enough, but they are not improved by sporadic acts of murder and arson committed by the guardians of the law."

ITALY'S INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM

GOOD news comes from Italy in the form of an Associated Press despatch reporting an interview with Premier Giolitti.

The Italian Premier reports that the industrial crisis has been settled by an agreement between the metal workers and the manufacturers, which involves a moderate increase in wages and the creation of a commission composed of employers and employees which will present to the Government the project for a bill to be passed by Parliament enabling the men to check up the financial and technical condition of the factories in which they work. The men are also granted one week's holiday every year.

Premier Giolitti says:

> We may congratulate ourselves on having solved this problem in accordance with the spirit of the age, and I firmly believe the present arrangement to do greater justice to Italian workers probably has postponed the advent of Socialism in Italy for perhaps a century, and certainly for fifty years.

Concerning the Commission which has been created Premier Giolitti says:

> This last is an excellent thing. There has been no want of mischief-makers who have assured the men their employers were realizing fabulous profits at the expense of workers. The latter were naturally inclined to believe this, but the day when their representatives can verify the accounts of factories and realize the revenues and expenses it will no longer be possible to trade upon the ignorance of workers and make bad blood between them and their employers. They will then know up to what limit they can ask for betterment of conditions, beyond which point insistence upon demands would be killing the goose that lays the golden eggs.

The agreement between the Italian employers and employees was signed on October 2. It is strange that to secure so moderate an agreement such drastic measures as the laborers employed should be necessary. It does not speak well for the vision of Italian employers.

The outcome confirms the interpretation reported in The Outlook that the disturbances in Italy were not essentially Bolshevist.

BOLIVIA AND THE SEA

THE recent overthrow of the Bolivian Government was due to the fact that it was no longer representative of the people. The National Convention will elect a new President in November. Meanwhile the Government is in the hands of a "Junta del Gobierno."

Bolivia, formerly upper Peru, had a province on the Pacific. Nitrate was discovered there. Bolivia laid an export duty on the saltpeter made from the nitrates, and, as this affected unfavorably certain Chilean citizens and companies in the province, Chile protested against the impost. Then Peru decided to make a Government monopoly of her nitrate deposits to the north of the Bolivian province. As Chile had invested a great deal of money in the Peruvian province also, she objected, and followed up her objection by an invasion of all the provinces. Four years of warfare ended with complete victory for Chile. The treaty of peace gave to her the whole Bolivian coast, one of the Peruvian provinces, and the right of control of the northernmost Peruvian province for ten years, at the end of which time its future disposition was to be left to popular vote. When the ten years came to an end, no vote was taken, Chile and Peru failing to agree on how it should be taken. Nor have they since agreed. Meanwhile general "Chileization" has gone forward.

Bolivia, although without a port on the Pacific, has her own custom-houses in Chilean ports, and Chile does not collect any money for the right of transit of merchandise originating from or destined to Bolivia. The economic situation is not, therefore, as bad as it might be for Bolivia, but the nation is constantly galled by the remembrance of its former commercial and strategic independence, and is simply biding its time until it can avenge itself. It feels that its very sovereignty depends on the recovery of its seacoast.

ETELKA GERSTER

ETELKA (ETHEL) GERSTER is dead, sixty-five years old. She passed away at her villa near Bologna, her home for many years, even though during earlier years she returned to it but for a few weeks at a time, succeeding her marriage in 1875 to Pietro Gardini, the opera director.

Those who knew Madame Gerster-Gardini personally, either there or here, will not soon forget the mobile, expressive face, the simple, winsome, serene manner, appropriate to a voice of marked equability, freshness, and limpidity of tone. While not a great singer as fulfilling the demands made upon one who essays the character of Isolde, for instance, in such operas as "Sonnambula," "Lucia," and "Rigoletto" Gerster was ideal.

Those were the days of the old Acad-

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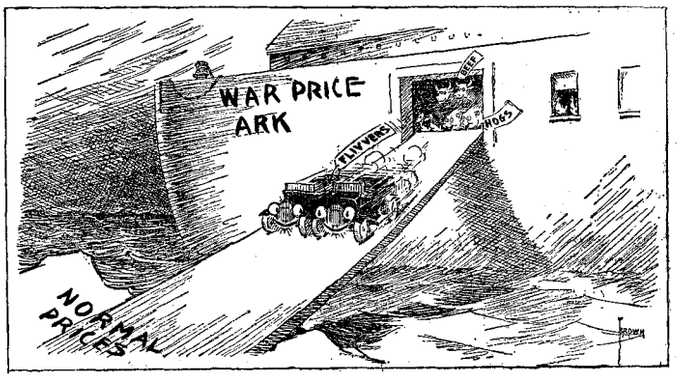
CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

AS SELECTED BY OUTLOOK READERS

(See offer on page 297)

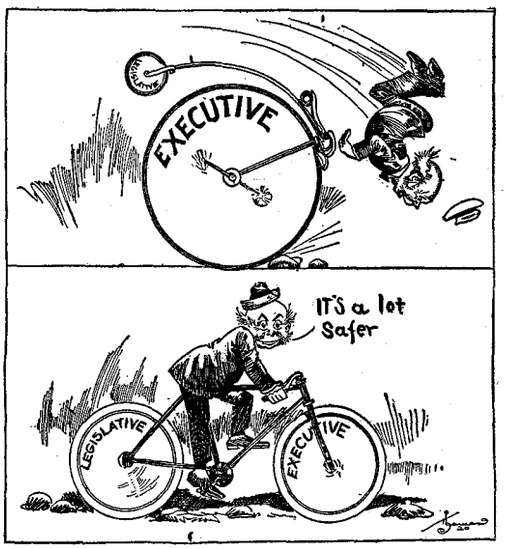
Brown in the Chicago Daily News



THE FIRST ANIMALS OUT

From Alfred E. Petrie, Chicago, Illinois

Thomas in the Detroit News



GOVERNMENTS ARE LIKE BICYCLES

From W. A. Randall, Detroit, Michigan

Johnson in the Saturday Evening Post

"THAT'S A LOVELY DESIGN BUT HOW ABOUT THE SEAT OF MY PANTS?"

From G. L. Beattys, Westfield, New Jersey

Page in the Louisville Courier-Journal

THE DERELICT

From Florence K. Crafts, Bradford, Vermont

Harding in the Brooklyn Eagle

"A BANNER WITH THE STRANGE DEVICE"

The reader who sends in the Lafayette cartoon incloses it in a letter which reads: "I dare you to print this." Anything to please a reader of The Outlook, and for good measure we will throw in the cartoon from the Louisville "Courier-Journal" printed just above. Most of our readers know that our cartoons are selected as graphic illustrations of public and not editorial opinion

From Ernest S. Green, New York City

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emy of Music on Fourteenth Street in the metropolis, when Patti and Gerster were the reigning *prime donne* as opposed to Nilsson and Sembrich at the Metropolitan Opera House, just starting uptown. Those indeed were well-remembered days in opera; there were then singing Italo Campanini, Del Puente, Galassi, the Patti sisters, and Minnie Hauk. In 1890 Gerster's voice had become impaired and she abandoned the stage for the teaching of singing. Since her day there have been singers of greater power and greater fame, but in her field few gave equal satisfaction.

MAX BRUCH

A NAME curiously linking contemporary music with that of the past is that of Max Bruch. That is not because Bruch himself was associated with any of the great composers of the early nineteenth century, but because his compositions seemed to belong by virtue of their characteristics to an era long past. Bruch was only nine years old when Mendelssohn died, but the more famous of Bruch's violin concertos, which is in the repertory of practically all solo violinists, is written in an idiom certainly no more modern than that of Mendelssohn's concerto.

Very little else besides that concerto among Bruch's compositions has survived in vigor. He wrote much, however, and in many forms. His compositions comprise chamber music, operas, orchestral compositions, including two symphonies, and many choral compositions.

Bruch was not only thoroughly German in birth, education, and life, but was a disciple of the doctrines that led Germany to war and destruction. Bruch's music is rich in that sentiment that easily passes over the line into sentimentality. This old man who died the other day in his eighty-third year was an illustration of that curious but ultimately logical affinity between the inhuman and the sentimental.

THE APPEAL OF "THE BAT"

ONE of the most successful plays in New York City at the present moment is "The Bat," by Mary Roberts Rinehart and Avery Hopwood. The next time we are asked, "What play shall I see?" the chances are very close to even that we shall answer, "Why not try 'The Bat'?" And if our advice is followed, we suspect that the odds are two to one that our advisees will spend most of their evening in the posture of those who are forced to "sit up and take notice." Why?

There are a number of things which go to the making of a good play. There is character, there is character development, there is dramatic incident, there is construction. The modern literary play is generally strong on character and character development and frequently weak in dramatic incident and construction. Its opposite is very strong on dramatic incident, generally successful in technical construction, and almost always void of all real portrayal of character or character development. To this second class belongs "The Bat." One should not blame "The Bat" for its deficiencies any more than one should blame a horse for not growing the horns of an elk. A horse is not designed to grow elk's horns; neither is the play of the type of "The Bat" designed to portray character. It admirably satisfies all the requirements of the situation if it is played in an adequately professional manner and if it holds the interest of the observer.

White Studio

"THE BAT"—HARRISON HUNTER AS ARMSTRONG, THE DETECTIVE, AND ANNE MORRISON AS DALE OGDEN (UNDER SUSPICION)

"The Bat" is a detective play (it should make an admirable movie) in which the age-old questions of Who murdered which? and Who stole what? keep the audience and the players on the jump for three full acts. There may have been better "mystery plays" on the New York stage in recent years. To judge from the reaction of one audience, however, "The Bat" is quite good enough to require S. R. O. signs for some time. It supplies all that the law can require of speculation, giggles, and gooseflesh. What more can an audience ask?

NOT A STRAW VOTE

"STRAW votes" are unconvincing things. Unless carried out on a mammoth scale they do not mean much. At best they are arithmetical rather than representative; they give figures, not reasons.

What we are attempting to do in this and the two following issues of The Outlook is just the reverse; the attempt is to give reasons, not "straws." Men and women in three classes of American citizenship—authors, college presidents, leaders in business and industry—have been asked to tell our readers for whom they will vote as President and why the choice is made. It seemed certain that the replies would be out of the ordinary political rut, that they would be instructive as well as interesting, and that they would reflect the processes of thinking and deciding now going on in the public mind.

We all like to know what our friends are thinking, and surely few Americans have more or warmer friends than these writers whose books have given us so much pleasure.

The result has justified our hope. No one can read the frank utterances from our authors-group printed this week without getting fresh points of view. Not one of them proposes to vote for a party candidate solely or mainly because he is the party's nominee; in each case reasons and beliefs based on present problems and conditions are expressed. The old days when "the party first and last" was the cry have gone by, to judge from these statements.

That nearly all of these writers expect to vote for Mr. Harding is not a matter of moment. Their names were not selected because of their political affinities, but because of their popularity with American readers; but the preponderance of Harding votes is not of chief significance.

What is really noteworthy is the emphasis laid in these letters on the belief that the voters are tired of the exclusion of the country from its own affairs, of the substitution of one man's will for representative government. Thus Mr. Owen Wister says: "We must return to Constitutional government. We have had eight years of personal government." Mr. Stewart Edward White declares: "Our present Governmental efficiency is at its lowest ebb." Mrs. Rinehart remarks: "Our President is . . . a great man, . . . but not so great that he, nor any other man, can carry us, Atlas-fashion, on his shoulders." Mr. Emerson Hough thinks "it will take fifty years to recover

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from the Wilson Administration." Mr. Kauffman asks for "a revival of the Constitution decreed by our fathers;" Mr. Lincoln, for "a strong, business-like, constructive, unsectional, and, so far as possible, non-partisan administration of our country's affairs."

In short, there is practical unanimity for rule of the people by the people and for the people instead of rule by one man aided by subordinates chosen because their minds are attuned to his.

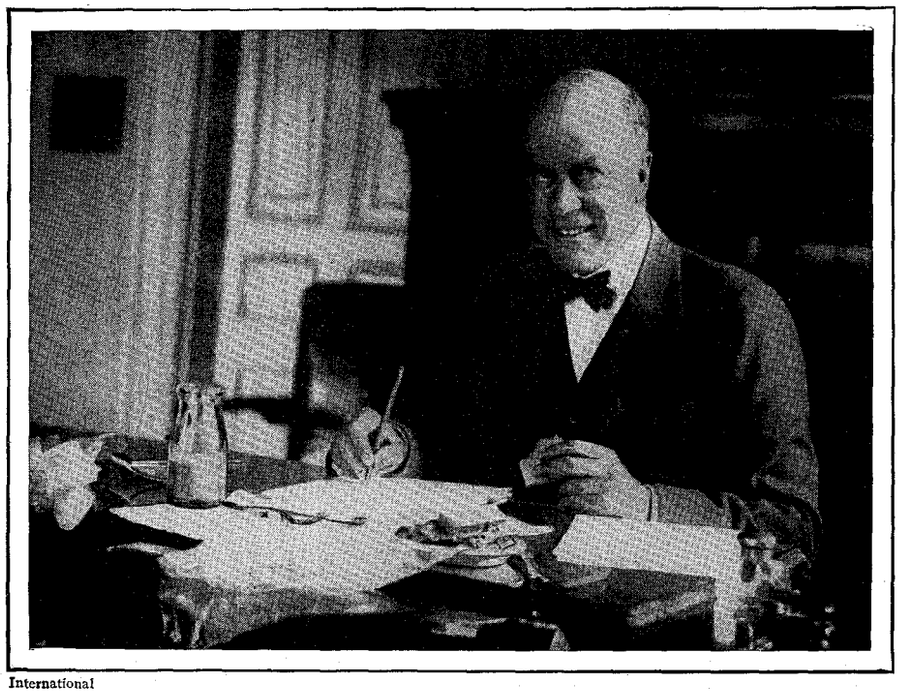
THE PORTABLE LUNCH

A GENERATION ago the equipment of no cartoonist was complete without an adequate supply of those dinner pails which were the inevitable companions of laboring men in square paper hats. Whether the dinner pails were depicted as full or empty depended solely upon the political affiliation of the cartoonist and the proximity of a Presidential campaign.

But twenty or thirty years ago the dinner pail was a larger factor in American life than it has been in recent years. It adorned not only the chubby fist of the school child, but it also had a most respectable place beside the urban desk. But the city lunch pail almost passed away before the onslaught of the quick lunch and the small restaurant, where food was high in price and too often low in quality. And, strangely enough, this happened in a generation which for the first time knew the convenience of bottles and boxes which kept things hot long after they had left the fire.

But there are encouraging signs. Better than the overall movement as a means of reducing the high cost of living is the effort to substitute the dinner pail for the lunch counter. No less a dignitary than Mayor Peters, of Boston, has lent his approval to the movement by setting the example to his fellow-workers of carrying his own lunch to his office.

The movement may well have a decided value in cutting down the high cost of living, but we suggest that it may also contain at least one danger. If it should tempt workers towards a shortening of the lunch hour it will be a thing to be deplored. We advise those who carry their own lunches to either eat them in company with others, whereby conversation may serve to retard the process of absorption, or, if they must eat by themselves, that they sandwich in bites from some leisurely volume between their doughnuts, drumsticks, and coffee. In such a fashion they may save both their purses and their health.



International

MAYOR PETERS, OF BOSTON, EATING HIS LUNCH AT HIS DESK IN THE BOSTON CITY HALL

CONTAGION

OUR friend, the Young-Old Philosopher, had just been viewing a play written by a friend of his, which had turned out to be a most unequivocal success.

"I am as happy as if it were my own," he said, without the slightest dissembling, as any one who knows him would understand.

"But why should you be so happy," some one suggested, "when you have written plays of your own, and invariably had them come home to roost? You ought to resent B's success, since you yourself have not achieved it."

"That is one of the most abominable doctrines in this world," the Young-Old Philosopher answered; and there was righteous wrath in his voice. "If my friend suceeds, so do I, so do you, vicariously. For success, like failure, is contagious. If they are turning people away from B's play some evening, those people will not go back to their homes, it being but half-past eight. They will wander up the street where my play may be having an engagement, and purchase seats for it. So, in the end, I would prosper. Why? Not because I have perhaps written so good a piece as B (I never could do that), but because I have written a next-best piece. It's as simple as A B C.

"Wasn't it Ingersoll who said that if he could remake this troubled and tangled world of ours, he would make health, rather than disease, contagious? He did not know that health *is* contagious. Be a bit under the weather yourself, and note how your pulse takes on its normal gait when a virile doctor comes to see you—or even a healthy friend. A new ozone gets into the room; a fresh power is generated in the atmosphere, and some of it—no matter how little—gets into your blood, and your eyes brighten, unless you are low with a real fever, and you take on some of the hearty magnificence and wholesomeness of your visitor. On the contrary, if you are feeling particularly well, and an acquaintance (I cannot believe that a true friend would utter the remark) tells you how ill you are looking, you immediately begin to believe him, and can readily work yourself into a sickness. Confined too long, unjustly, in an insane asylum, a man might easily go mad. Why? Simply because he was surrounded by lunatics, and could imagine himself one at any moment. Go with kindly people, and soon you will be kindly, no matter what your disposition. It is inevitable; for kindness gets into the air.

"And so, hearing of success, knowing of its existence, you will be convinced sooner or later that it is better and wiser to be successful than not. Once become inoculated with that germ, and the disease of failure will be routed. I have seen a row of back yards in a city that were a shame to the community. Let some one come along who plants a few flowers and furbishes up what was once a dumping ground, and the neighbors will peer from their win-

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dows, first in wonderment and with smiles upon their lips, then they will go and do likewise. For beauty, which is but another symbol of success, is contagious too; and the sum of loveliness, when it spreads over the earth, will bring us that long-dreamed-of time which we call the millennium.

"Had my friend's play failed, I would be feeling as blue as he this morning. No, I wouldn't. For I would catch from him only the vibrations that were his; and he, being really worth while—or he wouldn't have had a success—couldn't possibly be so silly as to feel glum over one failure. He'd have got busy on another manuscript. He is of the stuff that hasn't time to be disheartened. That's why I like him so much."

THE SOCIALIST OUSTER

LAST week we printed a statement by Senator Davenport, of the New York Legislature, giving his reasons for believing that the expulsion of the Socialist members of the Legislature was both unwise and dangerous. In pursuit of our customary endeavor to give both sides of every controverted question, we print in this issue a statement by Mr. Stevenson, of Counsel for the Lusk Committee, stating why that Committee believed that the Socialists should have been expelled. Most of Mr. Stevenson's article goes to prove the right of a legislative body to determine the qualifications of its own members. That right has not, we believe, been seriously questioned. Certainly we do not question it. But, as we have said before, while the Legislature was within the letter of its Constitutional rights, in preventing men duly elected by their constituents from taking their seats it acted contrary to the general spirit of American institutions.

In considering these two ousters, two points should be kept clearly in mind.

The first point is the difference between the two ousters. The ground for expulsion in the first case was different from that of the second. In the first case the men were expelled because of their membership in a party. In the second they were expelled because of acts of which they were accused individually. In the first all five were expelled because the party to which they belonged had tenets which the majority of the Assembly regarded as subversive of representative government. In the second two of the five were permitted to retain their seats, but the other three were expelled on individual charges. This difference is fundamental. So far as we know, the first ouster was unprecedented in parliamentary history; while the second has many precedents, one of which is the exclusion of Victor Berger from Congress.

The other point is the difference between the second ouster and the precedent we have just cited. In the case of Victor Berger, the accused had been convicted in a court of law of seditious and disloyal acts. In the case of the three New York Socialists, the accused were convicted not by any tribunal of law, but by the body from which they were expelled.

In the first case of expulsion the question was not whether the Assembly had acted within its Constitutional rights, but whether, by alleging unwarranted grounds for expulsion, it had respected the civil rights of the voters whose representatives were expelled.

In the second case of expulsion the question was not whether the Assembly had alleged unwarranted grounds for expulsion, but whether it had sufficiently established against the accused facts involving such moral turpitude as to render the accused unfit to hold office.

Apart, however, from all theoretical distinctions, the action of the Assembly may fairly be judged by its practical effects. In that respect its course has been politically inexpedient. It has put a discredited party into the position of defending civil liberty; it has given force to the arguments that those who believe radical changes are needed in government are foolish to try to secure them by parliamentary methods, by debate and vote, and should have recourse to "direct action," strikes, disturbance, and violence; and it has divided the forces of those who believe that progress should be orderly.

Whatever theoretical defense can be made of the Assembly's action, the result has been little of good and much of harm.

THE EXPULSION OF THE SOCIALISTS

PRINCIPLES INVOLVED IN THE ASSEMBLY'S ACTION

BY ARCHIBALD EWING STEVENSON

FIVE Socialist Assemblymen-elect were expelled at the last regular session of the New York State Legislature. The recent unseating of three of the same Socialists, chosen at a special election to fill vacancies created by the former expulsion, has renewed public discussion with respect to these proceedings. Much adverse criticism developed as a result of the Assembly's action, and such prominent leaders as Charles Evans Hughes publicly denounced the action taken as a violation of the principles of representative government.

These criticisms were in large measure due to a misunderstanding of both the law and the facts of the case.

The suddenness with which the first proceedings were begun led the public to believe that a new principle of parliamentary procedure was being invoked. This was not the case. In all English-speaking legislative bodies since the reign of Charles I of England the right of such a body to be the sole judge of the qualifications of its members has not been seriously questioned. That principle was thoroughly recognized by the fathers of American liberty. One of the earliest cases in which this right was sought to be exercised arose in the Senate of the United States when the right of Senator John Smith, of Ohio, to hold his seat was challenged because he had been indicted, together with Aaron Burr, for treason against this Government. Although Mr. Burr had been acquitted and the indictment against Senator Smith had been quashed, the question of his fitness to retain office was still questioned. A Senate committee was appointed to inquire into his qualifications, with John Quincy Adams as chairman. The principles stated in Mr. Adams's report are controlling to-day. Mr. Adams says:

> But when a man, whom his fellow-citizens have honored with their confidence on the pledge of a spotless reputation, has degraded himself by the commission of infamous crimes, which become suddenly and unexpectedly revealed to the world, defective indeed would be that institution which should be impotent to discard from its bosom the contagion of such a member; which should have no remedy of amputation to apply until the poison had reached the heart.

The report then reviews the practice with respect to criminal law and points out that

> The humane spirit of the law multiplies the barriers for the protection of innocence, and freely admits that

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> those barriers may be abused for the shelter of guilt. It avows a strong partiality favorable to the person upon trial, and acknowledges the preference that ten guilty should escape rather than that one innocent should suffer.

The report further states that this rule is not applicable to legislative bodies, and says:

> It is not better that ten traitors should be members of this Senate than that one innocent man should suffer expulsion. In either, no doubt, the evil would be great. But in the former it would strike at the vitals of the Nation; in the latter it might, though deeply to be lamented, only be the calamity of an individual.

In the expulsion proceedings at Albany the Assembly acted under a provision found in Article III, Section 10, of the Constitution of the State of New York, which is declaratory of this principle and which says:

> Each house shall . . . be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members.

In the original proceeding the Assembly, acting on this Constitutional authority and upon the evidence presented to it by its Judiciary Committee, expelled the five members of the Socialist party on the ground of their unfitness by reason of their own utterances and acts on the part of three, and by reason of the affiliation and pledges of two to support the constitution, programme, and principles of a society or group known as the Socialist Party of America, which must be distinguished from the citizen voters who at the polls enroll themselves under the Socialist emblem. It established the principle that any person who is pledged to bring about a change in our form of government by other than parliamentary means, or seeks to veto the decision of the ballot-box by violence or its equivalent—the general strike and sabotage—is unfit to participate in framing the laws for the State of New York.

The Governor of the State of New York, having called a special session of the Legislature to deal with the problem of housing, at the same time directed that a special election should take place to fill the vacancies in the Assembly caused by the expulsion of the five Socialists. That special election resulted in the return to the Assembly of the five persons who had previously been expelled. The question thus presented to the Assembly for determination was whether any changes had taken place which should affect its previous decision. Since the close of the regular session the Socialist Party of America has held its National Convention in New York City, which adopted a statement of principles and amended its National Constitution so as to meet the fundamental objections raised to it by the Assembly's decision. In July the State organization of the Socialist party also held a convention, which amended the State Constitution of the party, eliminating the disqualifying clauses.

The relations of the party with the Moscow Internationale, which previously had been unqualified, were so amended as to make it possible for the party to carry out its programme here by parliamentary measures. On its face, therefore, the Socialist party, as now constituted, is a body of dues-paying members who advocate certain changes and modifications in the Constitution and laws of this State by strictly parliamentary measures.

It was recognized in the first proceedings, as well as in the second, that, however distasteful to the majority the principles of government advocated by any minority may be, such a minority has full right to advocate its principles and to participate in the responsibilities and duties of public office, provided it is their purpose to bring about such changes by means of the ballot only. In the first proceedings two of the Socialists, De Witt and Orr, were expelled because they were bound to an organization which the Assembly held to be disloyal, and not because of any personal utterances or acts on their part which could be so construed. In dealing with their individual cases in the second proceedings the Assembly gave them the benefit of the doubt and authorized them to take their seats as Assemblymen. With respect to the other three the evidence which had previously been adduced before the Judiciary Committee was scrutinized, and their personal acts and utterances were held to be individually disqualifying.

The necessarily limited space of this article prevents an analysis of the complete evidence covering their disqualification. The principal objections to the qualifications of Assemblyman Waldman are applicable to the other two. Waldman was a Russian subject who, on coming to this country, became naturalized as soon as he was qualified to do so. Upon naturalization he was required to take an oath of allegiance to this country which contains the following:

> I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic, and bear true faith and allegiance to the same.

When Waldman was first called upon to put into effect this part of his oath of allegiance, he joined an anti-enlistment league, signing a pledge in the following terms:

> I, being over 18 years of age, hereby pledge myself against enlistment as a volunteer for any military or naval service in international war, offensive or defensive, and against giving my approval to such enlistment on the part of others.

He gave his approval to the War Proclamation and Programme of the Socialist Party, which was widely circulated in this State by his party. This document was adopted by referendum by the National party immediately after the entrance of the United States into the late war. It contains a statement of the principles of the Socialist party with relation to the war and the Government. It pledges the members to "continuous, active, and public opposition to the war through demonstrations, mass petitions, and *all other means within our power*." It calls upon the members of the party and workmen in general to resist conscription of life and labor, urges the repudiation of war bonds, and declares: "As against the false doctrine of national patriotism we uphold the ideals of international working-class solidarity." It urged the workers to seize upon the exigencies of the war as an opportunity for increasing the class struggle. If the programme outlined in this proclamation could have been carried into effect, it would have rendered this Government impotent to protect itself against its enemies and defenseless against attack.

In September, 1919, the Socialist party had affiliated itself with the Third Internationale under the leadership of Lenine and Trotsky. This was after the Internationale had issued its now famous manifesto which urges upon the revolutionary groups in all countries to disarm the *bourgeoisie* and arm the proletariat, and by means of civil war to set up working-class rule. At a meeting to celebrate the second anniversary of the Russian Revolution Mr. Waldman made the following statement:

> We must select between two alternatives; either Russia lives and conquers the world—not Russia conquers the world, but its ideas and philosophy, worthy of the Russian government, to-day should conquer the world—either that or the ideas and the philosophy of Gary and Wilson and Palmer, Lloyd George and Clemenceau, are to conquer the world. Between the two, for my part and for the part of thousands of Socialists now battling in America to-day, we choose to stand by the ideas and philosophy and programme and principles of Lenine and Trotsky as those we approve.

The evidence before the Judiciary Committee satisfied the Assembly that the Russian programme included the forceful overthrow of all Western democracies, including the United States of America, and by this and other utterances Waldman made it clear that he personally stood upon this platform. Similar evidence was adduced against Claessens and Solomon, all of which was undisputed.

In the second ouster proceedings, therefore, the principle of representative government was justified rather than outraged.

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LABOR LEADERS AND DIRECT ACTION—A CONTRAST

I—ROBERT SMILLIE: LEADER OF THE BRITISH MINERS

BY WORTH M. TIPPY

PROTAGONIST of direct action, uncompromising opponent of the present economic order in Great Britain, opposed to the war in England as was Eugene Debs in America, friend of Soviet Russia, ardent advocate of the miners and their families, informed and skillful in discussion and acutely embarrassing to opponents because of his human sympathies and knowledge of the mining industry—such is Robert Smillie, leader of the British miners.

In order to understand him personally I visited his home in Larkhall, near Glasgow, in mid-August, 1919, and during the same week a conference of the Scottish miners at Ayr by which he was signally honored.

The Smillies live in a miners' stone house, one of a long row of two-room cottages built end to end, flush with the sidewalk, and with gardens in the rear. The Smillies have added bath and sleeping rooms, but they live simply, like their neighbors, the miners with whom Mr. Smillie used to work. Mr. Smillie was not at home.

Mrs. Smillie is a typical Scotch mother—gentle, religious, devoted to her husband and nine children. Two of their sons were in the service. James, whom I found at home, had been gassed twice, and had been ill for three years as a result of shell shock. Two other sons were conscientious objectors, and one of the two had been imprisoned. Mrs. Smillie told me that during the Boer War her husband had openly opposed the war, but that James, who was then a boy, was an ardent defender of the Empire. One evening she sent James to the door to get the evening paper, an anti-Boer War journal. He returned without it. Questioned, he confessed that he had thrown it behind the door. Threatened with punishment if he did not bring it at once, he said, "I will take the whipping, mother, but I will not get the paper." Mr. Smillie interceded, and James was relieved from the odious task. Later James came to his father protesting against having to argue against two of his brothers on the rightness of the Boer War. He could hold his own, he said, with one of them, but it was not fair that he should have to face the two, and they older. Mr. Smillie took the lad's part.

The Smillies are members of Trinity United Free Church and rent a family pew, but are not regular attendants. Mr. Smillie is absent a great deal, and Mrs. Smillie is taxed by the duties of her home. The pew is not, therefore, regularly occupied, although an older daughter is active in the church. One could discern a manifest and growing estrangement between the family and the church. The church did not seem to me to realize the significance of Mr. Smillie's membership.

At the Ayr Conference I met Mr. Smillie personally. My journal for the day has this description:

> He is tall, a little stooped, slender, dark-reddish hair, a little gray, deep-set eyes, bushy eyebrows, thoughtful, silent, finely drawn. He speaks with simplicity, precision, great earnestness, but quietly and with wisdom and force. I was impressed by his courage, earnestness, and capacity.

Monapenny, Glasgow

ROBERT SMILLIE, ENGLISH LABOR LEADER, AND HIS SOLDIER SON, JAMES SMILLIE

After the address of the new President, Mr. James Robertson, M.P., Mr. Smillie spoke to the delegates. "Labor," he said, "has a great work to do through the House of Commons. We must use political and industrial action at the same time, but it will be a long time before we can give up direct action for political action. I have always been a peacemaker in Scottish mining, trying to keep men at work and to avoid loss of time."

Mr. Smillie then advised the delegates to avoid incidental strikes. He advocated the lightning strike, preceded by negotiations.

He went on to remark that "the main thing to keep in mind is our wives and children." (I observed that note in all his speaking. He was thinking of the wives and children of the miners more than of the mechanics of the labor movement.)

Speaking of nationalization of the mines, he said: "We have made our case before the Commission (the Sankey Commission) and are entitled to nationalization. Capitalists are fighting because they know that nationalization of minerals means the surface next, then the factories."

Mr. Smillie's injunction to Mr. Robertson, the new President of the Scottish miners, his own successor, was characteristic. He advised Robertson to rule with a strong hand. If he made a mistake, hold to it and apologize later. (Laughter.) His own power, such little as he had, was because of his earnestness, he stated frankly.

In the Conference on Thursday and Friday it became evident that the delegates were wholly committed to the nationalization of mines. There was unanimous sympathy with Soviet Russia. One delegate referred to Denikine and Kolchak as cutthroats, and he was applauded. Mr. Smillie said in a discussion: "No power on earth could stop our striking under certain circumstances, not even death or imprisonment."

The chairman in his inaugural inveighed against "political blacklegging" by the workers. "Out of three hundred labor candidates only sixty had been returned, when all might have been elected had the workers kept their ranks." Evidently the labor vote in England cannot be delivered, and from interviews with individual workers I began to suspect that the rank and file of labor is not as united as were the delegates to the Ayr Conference.

On Friday I was invited to join some of the officers of the Conference on a seventy-mile trip by automobile. We stopped by the seaside and Mr. Smillie and I had a walk along the shore. I asked about general welfare, and whether the miners' officials were taking it into consideration. He thought that they were; that they meant to do so. He in turn asked me about Mr. Lincoln. Had I seen the Drinkwater "Lincoln" at the Gaiety, London? Would I not see the play on my return to London and give him my impressions? Was Abraham Lincoln a compromiser? He thought not. I said that he was tenacious of his purposes, but adjusted his programme to conditions. Mr. Lincoln is an ideal to Mr. Smillie, but he was not certain about that one point. Clearly Mr. Smillie had determined for himself not to compromise. It is not in his makeup.

That is Robert Smillie as I saw him. Differing with him as I do in most of his radical points of view, especially in the matter of direct action, and believing that British labor

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is safer with moderate men, such as Clynes, Thomas, Barnes, and Stewart Bunning, I yet felt that in his devotion to the families of the miners, in his unselfishness, single-mindedness, and courage, I had met no more Christlike man in Great Britain than the miners' executive. It was painful to feel obliged to disagree with him on his policies.

II—SAMUEL GOMPERS: PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

BY SHERMAN ROGERS

INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT OF THE OUTLOOK

Mr. Sherman Rogers,
New York City.
My dear Mr. Rogers:

In a recent speech delivered by you in Boston you made the statement that organized labor had stood for stability and construction during the last twenty-five years, and that you believed Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, had demonstrated highly commendable loyalty before the war and during the war, and that you personally believed the country owed Mr. Gompers as much as any single man for the successful prosecution of the war. I believe whole-heartedly in your advocacy of better relations between capital and labor, relations that will be founded on the absolute certainty that a vast majority of the laboring men of the country are absolutely square. I believe, as you do, that we have entered a new era so far as recognizing justice in industrial affairs is concerned, and I also believe, as you have so vigorously stated, that, in proportion, there are just as many I. W. W.'s among the ranks of capital as there are in the ranks of labor, and that the I. W. W. capitalists are just as great a menace to the country, and probably more so, than the I. W. W. laboring man.

I agree with you on the fundamental principles of the ideas and ideals you are giving all your time to. But, and I want to spell that "but" with a capital "B," I think you are dead wrong when you hold Samuel Gompers up as a patriotic leader. I think his acts in the last three years should place him in the same category as other radical revolutionary labor leaders not connected with the American Federation of Labor who believe in destroying the present system and establishing the new-fangled and destructive notion: namely, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

I trust you will believe me an enthusiastic believer in the doctrines you advocate, and trust also that you will kindly write me how you can be so inconsistent as to spoil your good work by making the statement above referred to.

Sincerely yours,

——— ——— ———.

FOLLOWING is my answer to the above letter: In the first place, my views and those of Samuel Gompers are not identical in all cases; yet I must confess that I hold few men in America to-day in higher regard than the venerable President of the American Federation of Labor, who has demonstrated his sound judgment, clear vision, and constructive stability continuously since he became President of the A. F. of L. thirty-five years ago.

I do not agree with all the principles of the American Federation of Labor, but I do sincerely contend, as Samuel Gompers so eloquently stated in his recent debate with Governor Allen, in Carnegie Hall, that the American Federation of Labor is mainly responsible for the elimination of miserable sweatshop conditions, child labor, especially child labor in the coal fields, and, in fact, I go Sam Gompers one better by stating that in a great degree the American Federation of Labor under the leadership of Mr. Gompers deserves much of the credit of placing labor in America on a higher standard in regard to social and economic conditions than anywhere else in the world.

Underwood & Underwood
SAMUEL GOMPERS, AMERICAN LABOR LEADER, ON HIS WAY TO ROCHESTER BY AIRPLANE

In regard to Samuel Gompers's loyalty, his past private utterances, his published articles, and his speeches of record speak for themselves. The veteran needs very little defense. All that is necessary to prove that Mr. Gompers is a real American and a sincere friend of labor is to bring to light excerpts of speeches made by him or articles from his pen.

You apparently term Mr. Gompers an I. W. W. I emphatically state that the American Federation of Labor, through the energetic and tireless efforts of its great leader, has been and still is one of the *greatest bulwarks against Bolshevism existing in the United States to-day*. I quote an excerpt from a signed article written by Samuel Gompers in "McClure's Magazine" of April, 1919:

"I do not know that I am entitled to very great credit because I am not a Bolshevik. With my understanding of American institutions and American opportunities, I repeat that the man who would not be a patriot in defense of the institutions of our country would be undeserving the privilege of living in this country. . . . If I thought that Bolshevism was the right road to go, that it meant freedom, justice, and the principles of humane society and living conditions, I would join the Bolsheviki. It is because I know that the whole scheme leads to nowhere, that it is destructive in its efforts and in its every activity, that it compels reaction and brings about a situation worse than the one it has undertaken to displace, that I oppose and fight it."

In "McClure's" of April, 1919, Mr. Gompers wrote:

"America is not merely a name, a land, a country, a continent; America is a symbol. It is an ideal, the hope of the world. . . . It is the duty of every citizen to stand by his country in times of stress and war as well as in times of peace. The man who would not fight, or make the supreme sacrifice, if necessary, to save and protect his home and his country, who would not fight for liberty, is undeserving and unworthy of living in a free country."

Does that sound like the principles of an I. W. W.?

In a report to the A. F. of L. Convention at Atlanta, Georgia, in November, 1911, Mr. Gompers said, in part:

"It [the American Federation of Labor] has pursued its avowed policy with the conviction that if the lesser and immediate demands of labor could not be obtained now from society as it is, it would be mere dreaming to preach and pursue that will-o'-the-wisp, *a new society constructed from rainbow materials—a system of society on which even the dreamers themselves have never agreed.*"

Permit me again to say that I am not attempting a wholesale defense of Mr. Gompers in all of his beliefs, nor in all of the tenets of the American Federation of Labor; I quote the above in answer to the statement made in your letter of September 5.

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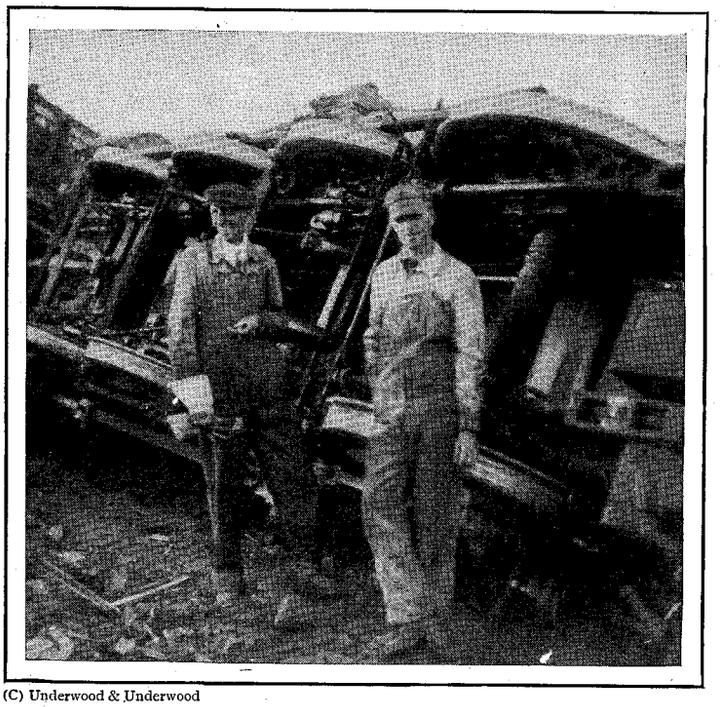
CURRENT EVENTS ILLUSTRATED

International

GOVERNOR COX MAINTAINS HIS CHEERFULNESS AS THE CAMPAIGN GOES ON

The picture shows the Democratic Presidential candidate as he was met by a delegation at San Francisco



(C) Underwood & Underwood

THE TRAIN WRECK THAT FAILED TO REMOVE GOVERNOR COX'S SMILE

Governor Cox, who has been touring the West in his Presidential campaign, had a narrow escape in Arizona when his train, as seen above, left the rails. Fortune was with the touring party, however, and no one was hurt

(C) Edmonston from International

VETERANS OF THE CIVIL WAR VISITING SENATOR HARDING AT MARION

These members of the G. A. R. were *en route* to Indianapolis to attend the National encampment, and stopped over at Marion to express their loyalty to the Republican Presidential candidate

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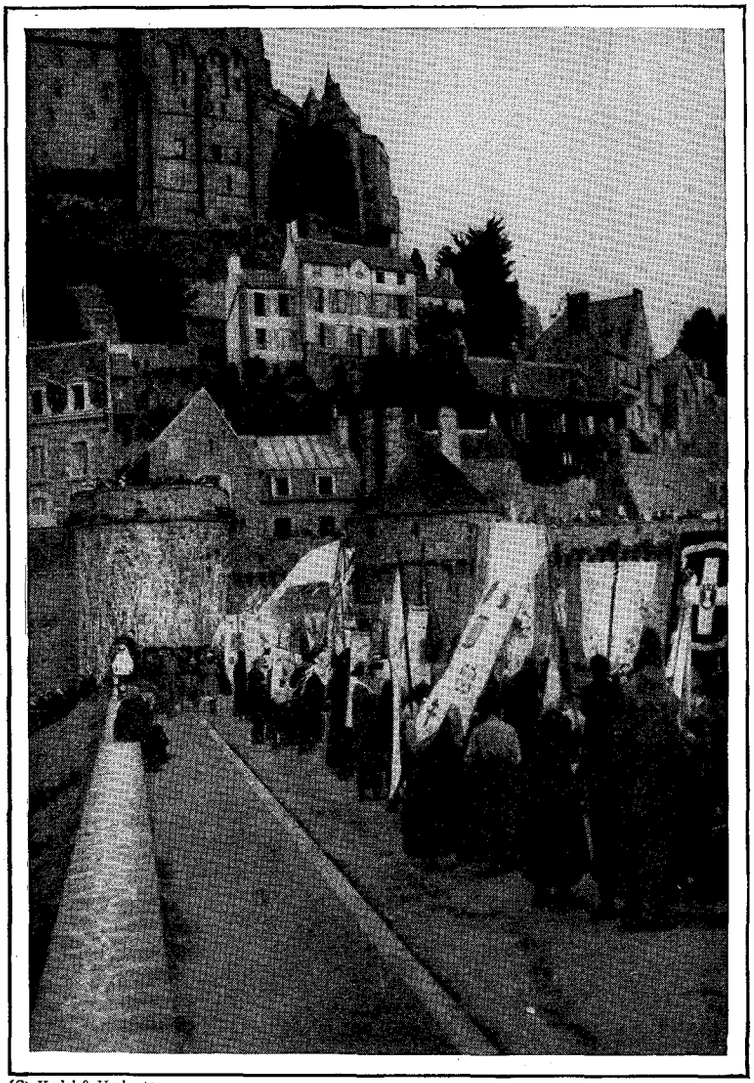
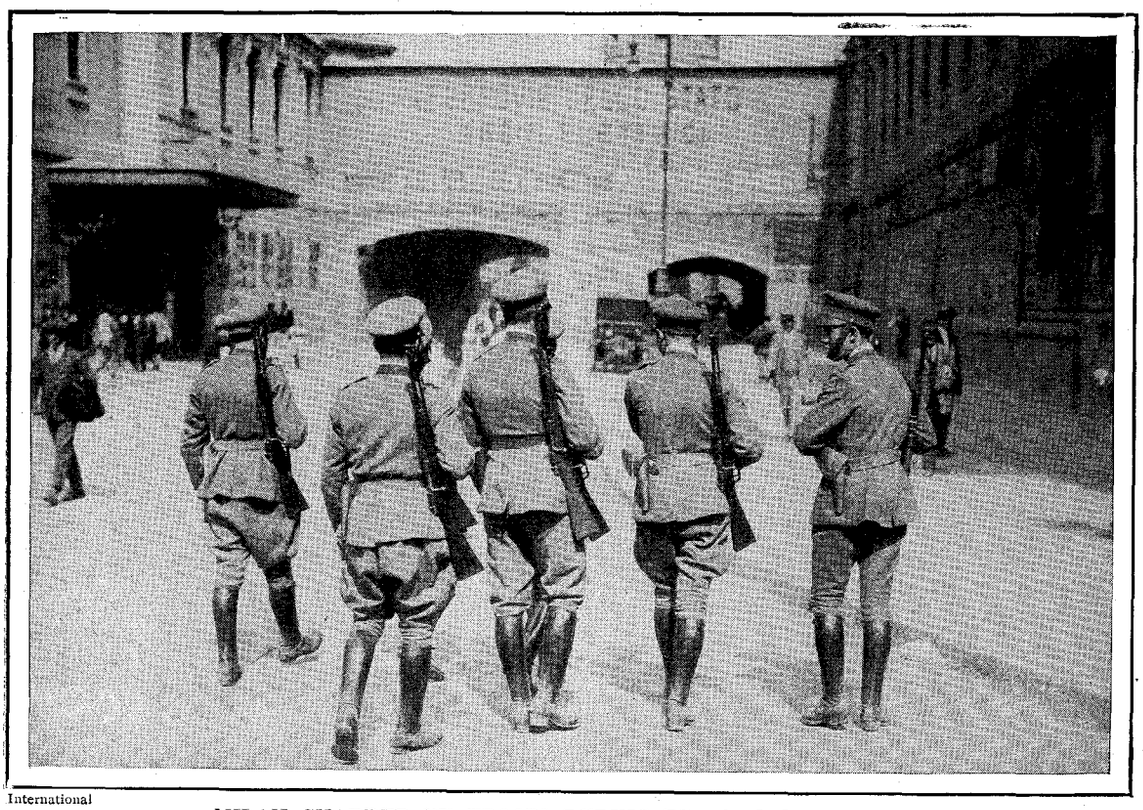
A PICTURESQUE PARADE AT MONT ST. MICHEL, FRANCE, IN HONOR OF JOAN OF ARC

The French national heroine, now a saint, receives homage everywhere in her beloved country, to-day at last happily free from invaders, even as Joan of Arc wished it to be in her day



(C) Kadel & Herbert



International

MILAN GUARDED BY TROOPS DURING THE LABOR TROUBLES

Many factories in Italian cities were recently seized by turbulent workers, and troops were called upon to quell disturbances and guard property. These labor disputes have now, it is reported, been adjusted

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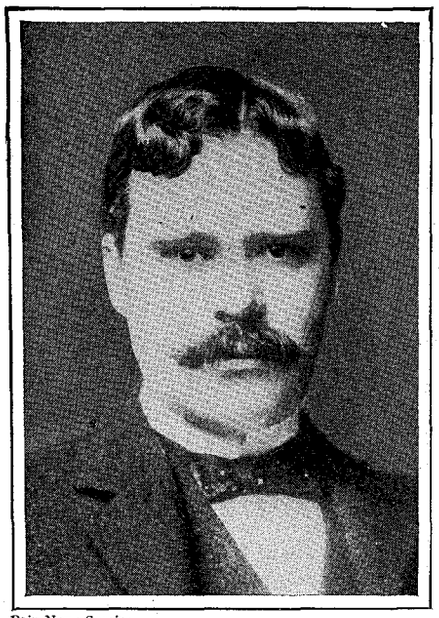

Bain News Service

OWEN WISTER

Author of "The Virginian," "Lin McLean," "The Seven Ages of Washington," "The Pentecost of Calamity," etc.

EIGHT LEADINC

ANSWER TH

WILL YOU VOTE FOI

BOOTH TARKINGTO

AN EDITORIAL FOREWOR

WHEN we addressed our appeal to a number of the most distinguished American novelists, asking them to tell our readers how they would vote in November and why, we found that some of them were beyond the reach of the mails. In one case this resulted in a telegraphic interchange with a writer who has done more than any other to maintain the literary reputation of Indiana—Booth Tarkington. Mr. Tarkington wrote us that our appeal had reached him too late. The following correspondence was then intrusted to the wire:

Booth Tarkington:

Can still use your two to three hundred word statement if it reaches us by next Monday. Send it if necessary by wire night press rates at our expense. Please wire to-day whether we may count on you.

ERNEST H. ABBOTT.

Ernest H. Abbott:

Have tried to write something upon

OWEN WISTER

FOR HIM IT IS THREE STRIKES AND OUT

I SHALL vote for Harding. For this I have three reasons, any one of which alone would decide me.

First, we must return to Constitutional government. We have had eight years of personal government. These years seem to me amply to justify the deep-rooted distrust of personal government felt by the founders of the country and the careful thought they took to guard against it.

Second, we stand in urgent need of the very best equipped intelligence that can be found to direct our domestic affairs. We must have men not merely of brains, but of brains seasoned with experience, and of steady judgment. I think many more such men are found in the Republican party than in any other.

Third, we also stand in need of clear heads to manage our foreign policy. Our relations to the rest of the world are new, delicate, and of vital moment. Harding has long served upon the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. He is equipped to deal with these. He will run us into no extreme either of entanglement or of isolation.

To sum up. Through Harding and the Republican party, more than through any other man or party, we may look for Constitutional government, internal stability, and profitable understanding with other nations.

STEWART EDWARD WHITE

SAYS ONE REASON IS ENOUGH—AND COX SUPPLIED IT

I SHALL vote the Republican ticket in November, principally because I, in common with most other citizens, have had personal knowledge of many basic failures of the present Administration. This decision I take in full appreciation that the times have been extraordinary and difficult and the problems complex. Nevertheless I feel that in sacrifice of the ultimate to the expedient this Administration has beaten all records. It kept us out of war only to the extent of keeping us from adequate preparation for the inevitable. Its policy in Mexico I can temperately describe as imbecile, for I know something of Mexico. It played fast and loose with the Navy until at the present time the Navy is fifty per cent efficient and has lost fifty per cent of its morale. In making this statement I speak not from hearsay, but from fifteen years' inside experience. Those of us who were in the Army, and were even fairly in a position to see, realize that it was more hampered by ineptitude in its political relations than history tells us is usual. Lives there a citizen who (occasionally) receives mail and whose memory extends back over eight years who has not had experience with our mails? Any traveler can testify to the appalling falling off in service and equipment under Government administration of the railways—and every one remembers the deficits! There is no use in extending the catalogue. It has become my opinion that, in spite of the unusual times and their demands, our present Governmental efficiency is at the lowest in its history.

The fundamental reasons seems to lie in personnel. Weak, vain men in high positions. Secretaries whose private and public utterances and actions are incredibly childish; men whose first reaction to any project brought officially to their attention—even in war—is not whether the project is effective and desirable, but whether it can be published! This also is first hand and not rumor. Perhaps the Democratic party has abler men than those who have been allowed to keep the responsible positions for the past eight years; but, if so, they have not been shown in action. The proof of their existence is still to be made. The Republican party

STEWART EDWARD WHITE

Author of "The Forest," "The Blazed Trail," "The Westerners," "The Leopard Woman," "Gold," "The Forty-Niners," etc.

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AMERICAN NOVELISTS

OUTLOOK'S QUESTION

COX OR FOR HARDING?

(C) Marceau

BOOTH TARKINGTON

Author of "The Gentleman from Indiana," "Monsieur Beaucaire," "Penrod," "The Turmoil," "Seventeen," "The Magnificent Ambersons," "Clarence," etc.

CAN'T SAY NOTHING

AND SOME TELEGRAMS

the subject but find a great vacancy due to thinking nothing.

BOOTH TARKINGTON.

Booth Tarkington:

Please think nothing for us for two or three hundred words. You will be the spokesman for millions.

ERNEST HAMLIN ABBOTT.

Ernest H. Abbott:

Regretfully discover that nothing cannot be spoken.

BOOTH TARKINGTON.

Surely if Mr. Tarkington can speak neither anything nor nothing on the campaign, his silence is at least eloquent of his opinion. But some of the other authors to whom we appealed have found it possible to be as eloquent in words as Mr. Tarkington has been in silence. We publish their valued replies below.

It is perhaps needless to say that when we appealed to these noted authors for an expression of their opinions we had no inkling as to their political leanings in the present campaign.

has at least proved, able men; it has a tradition of government, and some precedents of known worth by which to guide itself. It also is against the peculiar form of one-man government that, personally, I think has harmed us immeasurably.

So much for general principles. As to candidates, I should vote for Mr. Harding if I had only one indication for comparison. I refer to Mr. Cox's public charges of corruption, bad faith, insincerity, and the rest of what seems to start like the campaign of a demagogue. Even if all these charges should happen to be literally true, the personal enunciation of them should be beneath the dignity of a candidate for the highest office we have. Their publication could quite safely be left to others; and the effect of them, if they had the vitality of truth, would not be diminished. That Mr. Cox does not see this is to me a small but significant gauge of the man's capacity. If he is not big enough to see that the methods of the ward politician and the mud-slinging demagogue are not applicable to a campaign for the ruler of a country like this, he is not big enough for the job.

MARY ROBERTS RINEHART

DECIDES THAT NO ATLASES NEED APPLY

I SHALL cast my first vote in November, and that vote will be for the Republican party. Had I cast my first vote ten years ago, it would also have been Republican, but with this difference—that then it would have been mainly the result of heredity and environment. Now my decision is, to be honest, a compound of discontent with present conditions, resentment at the negation by Woodrow Wilson of the representative form of government, and hope.

Two of these fundamental impulses are negative. I shall vote against the Democratic party. One is positive. I want the Republican party to be given a chance. Although I am aware that to become heir to the past eight years, to come back to the changed social and economic conditions that face the country and the world, to inherit not only blunders and debts that were avoidable but also the aftermath of an unavoidable war, is to come into power under the worst possible conditions. Not at once can administrative blunders be remedied. Debts incurred cannot be canceled. It will take time to restore our standing with the world, and it will take effort and good faith to restore the confidence of our people in the Government.

I have spoken first of my personal discontent with present conditions. That includes several things. Our form of government is founded on representation in good faith, yet there has been a consistent refusal on the part of the Executive to recognize the will of the people through their accredited representatives. Our only check on the executive office is through our National legislative bodies, and their proper recognition is essential. The Republican nominee has had his training in the National Legislature, is fully aware of their importance as representing the will of the people, and of their power and authority. But my personal discontent goes further. Not only has the political morale of the Nation been upset by the unseemly bickering of those in high place, but the social and economic. Morale is from the top down. Quarreling above-stairs means quarreling below; waste and extravagance are contagious. Inefficiency and poor management at the head of a business mean the same thing all through.

But, granting that war was an emergency for which we were unprepared, and that the chaos of administration has its excuses, there are other things not so easily explained. To be honest, I believe that the Democratic party came into power with two fixed ideas. The first was a not unnatural one—to remain in power. But the second one requires explaining. The development of the party was from the masses, and the mass is always Socialistic until it acquires property. Therefore wealth was a crime, not in the concrete but in the abstract. The party came into power with a practical denial of class, and therefore at once awoke class consciousness. It went further, and instituted class taxation, thus ignoring the fundamental fact that what is given to a man free is without value.

In the same way it denied wealth it denied achievement, and as it espoused lost causes it espoused mediocrity. It has forgotten that Jefferson was an aristocrat, a gentleman, and a scholar, and remembers only that he wore no frills upon his shirt.

Of the second reason for my personal discontent I have stated the fact, and that is enough. Our President is our President still, and an ill man. He is a great man also, greater than we know, but not so great that he, or any other man, can carry us, Atlas-fashion, on his

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MARY ROBERTS RINEHART

Author of "The Circular Staircase," "K," "Tish," "The Amazing Interlude," "Dangerous Days," etc.

shoulders. Our President is at once our leader and our servant; he must have both strength and the ability to compromise, will but also submission. He must place his country before his party and God in his Cabinet.

Hope. I hope for better things. If the Republican party fails to make that hope reality, I shall still hope, for out of that failure will some day come a new party, not a Socialist one, nor a lost cause party with the "lunatic fringe," as Theodore Roosevelt called it, rushing to join its ranks; but a fine, upstanding, middle-of-the-road-in-the-sunlight party. But I believe that the Republican party will endeavor to be that party. It has a majority of the thought and responsibility of the country in its ranks. It has been able to sit off during eight years of rapid social changing and see, like all onlookers, most of the game. It intends to be a fair-deal party, and by that I mean that it will not recognize either the autocracy of mass or the autocracy of class. It will remember that no one class can keep a party in power or return it to power—not labor or bankers, women or secret organizations, or churches or armies; but that the balance of power lies in some ninety millions of people, unorganized, inarticulate save at the polls, and asking only for the right under honest conditions to labor, to achieve, and to aspire.

EMERSON HOUGH

WILL VOTE WITH A GRIMACE AND A PRAYER

THE Editor of The Outlook is so good as to ask me how I shall vote next November. I should like him or some other wise and dispassionate man to answer that question for me. At the moment I am almost disposed to say that I do not know how I shall vote or ought to vote; and in this I believe I am only one of a very large number of Americans who like to do their own thinking; who to-day practically are men without a country, or at least without a party.

For the greater part of my life I have voted the Republican ticket—at first straight, and ignorantly. Then I voted with the Progressives when I had opportunity, not because I thought their creed perfect, but because I thought it better than anything else that offered. It is all very well to say that we must have two political parties in order to sustain our institutions. But what if neither of the two great parties shall represent the honest convictions of a thinking voter and independent man? What if neither of the two in the least shall appear to answer the questions which America is asking to-day in the greatest crisis of her history?

I fancy that most men of intelligence to-day will admit that such a crisis does exist. But where are our leaders? Where are our great men—where is one great man, one real statesman? I find no such man at the head of either ticket.

What shall I do with my vote, knowing that if I do not vote I am not doing my part in running this republican form of government? And in what case is a man who votes with the feeling that his country's form of government is still in the experimental stage? As to the latter, where does a study of our recent political history leave one? Scriptures tell us of the man who could not steal, whereas to beg he was ashamed. There must have been in view even then the man who likes to do his own thinking, and not have it handed to him like a name plate at a dinner table.

There are men who vote as Socialists—I cannot understand why. There have been tickets for the Prohibitionists—I cannot understand why. For me there are, therefore, two tickets, the Republican and the Democratic. Between these I must decide by a process of elimination.

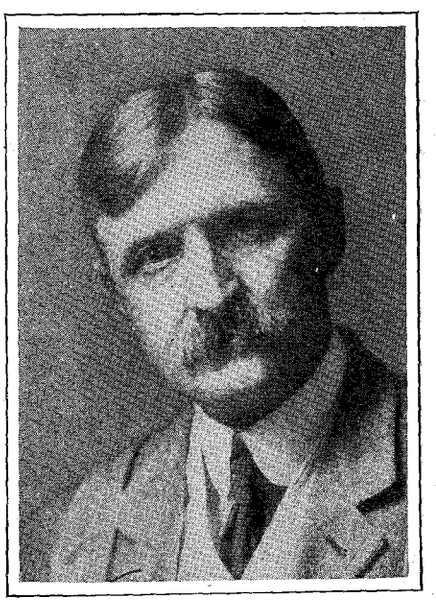
It will take this country fifty years to recover from the Wilson Administration. Indeed, this country never again will be America. Here is where we lost America. Should I, then—how can any thinking man—vote for any remotest possibility of a continuation of that sort of thing? As to the Democratic candidate—No.

That leaves Harding. If I were in politics, naturally I would do as the great part of the leadership, rank, and file of the Republican party has done—grimace first, and then look pleasant as I could, and talk as sweetly as I could. But I sustain the great difficulty of not being in politics, having thus far been able to make a living in some other way. Therefore, I am obliged to say that I probably shall vote for Mr. Harding and be disgusted with myself when I do so; feeling when I do so that I am casting a ballot for a coterie of politicians and not for a grievously troubled country.

When I vote for Mr. Harding, I shall do so with the prayer that some grace of God be given to him to raise him above politics and into statesmanship; a prayer that he may grow large enough to incline his ear not to the whispers of a few men, but to the murmur of America in her need.

This country is in trouble. There ought to have been this fall a complete wiping out of all party lines. The best men of the two great parties ought to have thrown away political traditions in order to save America for her own traditions while yet she may be saved. But what do we see on both sides? Mud-slinging, trickery, billingsgate, partisan accusations—the same spirit which thwarted the will of the people in both of the great Conventions of last summer! The methods of both those Conventions, and the methods of both the candidates who came out of those Conventions, are enough to disgust, and they do disgust, the thinking men of this country.

It is true that, if Mr. Harding should be elected—and I do not doubt he will be—he could in part restore the National morale which his handlers have done so much to destroy. He could appoint a coalition Cabinet—with such a



EMERSON HOUGH

Author of "The Mississippi Bubble," "The Web," "The Girl at the Halfway House," "Fifty-four Forty or Fight," etc.

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man as Leonard Wood as Secretary of War, such a man as Herbert Hoover as Secretary of State, such a man as John Barton Payne as Secretary of the Interior. If he could rise to heights where this much would be possible, he would begin to get the country back of him. It is by no means back of him now.

The League of Nations cuts not the slightest figure in my own personal decision. In my own weak personal belief, all this hullaballoo about the League of Nations is the poorest claptrap ever sprung on a suffering public. Partisan drums at the bedside of a corpse call the attention of the public to an "issue" which is worse than moribund. The people never understood the League of Nations any more than did its author and contriver. No man lives who can predict what it means or will mean ten or fifty years from now. The only saving grace about the whole League of Nations proposition is that it makes little odds whether we do or do not have it. But it does make a great deal of odds that so much public time and money has been wasted over a purely partisan question. Where were our great men, our statesmen? Are we to have none such again?

In my own weak judgment, permissibly cynical after a review of the post-bellum activities in Europe and the ante-bellum activities also, we should in all likelihood keep a League of Nations as long as it worked well for us, and then forget it. That is precisely what other nations are doing and would do. Why, then, any Brahministic mysteries and mockeries about it? In my own weak judgment, it were much better to spend our time and money in growing strong and fit so that we may command our own survival when the time comes, and not put that to the test of a political quibble. Dead hands and dead voices do not rule a world fifty years ahead. With the air out of it and the acid applied to it, the League of Nations seems to the unhallowed mind about the hollowest piece of emptiness ever offered to a man's intelligence in the time of early snowfall.

I presume I shall vote for Mr. Harding, but I shall do that coldly and with no great hope. He is my choice of two convention—and conventional—evils. But ah, if he could read some history wider than that of Ohio! Ah, if he had some vision beyond the platform of a convention hall!

The political picture of to-day is not one to offer any comfort, even in the alternative, to any man who is accustomed to do his own thinking. To me the times seem exceedingly grave.

IDA M. TARBELL

Author of "The Life of Abraham Lincoln," "The History of the Standard Oil Co.," "The Rising of the Tide," "He Knew Lincoln," etc.

IDA M. TARBELL

THINKS THE LEAGUE'S THE THING TO "CATCH THE CONSCIENCE"

AS I see it, the present outstripping duty of the United States is to become at once an active partner in the League of Nations as it appears in the Treaty of Versailles. This is not saying that the United States should take this step without frankly stating the interpretations it puts on the Covenant or without making clear any reservations which it may feel will be necessary thoroughly to safeguard National interests. It does mean that I believe we should join the League as it now is and take a man's part in correcting it as its weaknesses and dangers develop. This is what we are doing and have from the start been doing with our Constitution. It is what every nation does and must do with its form of government. The League is the boldest, the most inclusive, and the most carefully constructed scheme for organizing the world for peace which men have yet attempted. It provides for international action—in limiting armaments, in spreading knowledge of understandings and treaties between member nations, in arbitrating differences, in developing a court of international law, in stabilizing and regulating economic and labor conditions, in controlling disease, and in making universal the humanitarian work of the Red Cross. All of these noble activities, looking to a more orderly and peaceful world, have already been organized and the work of several of them is far advanced. For this Nation to withhold its support from an international undertaking devoted to such purposes is to prove false to the principles on which it is founded and to the highest ideals which it professes. The League offers the best chance to further peace and good will which is now before the nations of the world. Refusing to join is to delay, in proportion to our position in the world, these great objects.

Moreover, as I see it, there is no issue before this country to-day—high cost of living, unfair distribution of wealth, bringing industry from a military to a peace basis, profiteering—nothing which can be tackled regardless of world conditions. To deal with our National problems with any hope of success we must first help put in operation the international machinery for dealing with international problems.

Seeing things in this way, there is but one ticket to which I can give my vote—the Democratic Cox and Roosevelt.

JOSEPH C. LINCOLN

SAYS THAT "YOU'RE A LIAR" IS NO ARGUMENT

I SHALL vote the Republican ticket this fall. Most of us are prejudiced, although we may try not to be, and I presume I, by training and early environment, am prejudiced in favor of the Republican party. However, my prejudice has not prevented me from voting for Democratic candidates—for example, Mr. Wilson in his campaign for Governor of New Jersey—and I was an ardent follower of Colonel Roosevelt in 1912. I am as certain now as I was then that the action of the Convention which deprived him of the nomination was a political crime. For the matter of that, I believe the nomination of Mr. Harding to be one more instance of the triumph of the politicians over the public. In saying this I am not characterizing Mr. Harding as an unfit candidate; I mean simply that he was and is, to most us, a comparatively unknown man. Every Republican of my acquaintance voted at the primaries for some one other than he—and that is all the good it did them.

However, if Harding was the politicians' choice, so, too, was Cox. None of my Democratic friends favored him. And, thus far at least, I consider Mr. Harding's campaign utterances to be more worth-while and thoughtful and dignified than those of his opponent. Mr. Cox makes a charge to substantiate which he offers no proof. When that charge is denied, he still offers no proof, but says, in effect, "You're a liar." "You're a liar," with no worth-while evidence of the lie, is not what most of us would call an expression of constructive statesmanship. And, besides, when the pot calls the kettle

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JOSEPH C. LINCOLN

Author of "Cap'n Eri," "Mary 'Gusta," "Keziah Coffin," "The Depot Master," "Shavings," "The Portygee," etc.

black it is doubtful if many votes are gained for the pot. Give us credit for some intelligence, Mr. Cox. We may be innocent little lambs at the primaries, but we do know that it takes money, and much money, to pay for a political campaign, a Democratic campaign as well as a Republican. And if you ask your stanch supporters, the Tammany Hall Democrats, they will tell you so.

But, for the sake of argument, presuming the Presidential candidates to be of equal ability, then the voters' choice becomes one of parties, their records, and their promises. As to the League of Nations being the great issue between Republicanism and Democracy, I beg respectfully to doubt. Practically all Americans, with the possible exceptions of some ridiculously rabid anti-Englanders, believe that an international agreement of some sort should be reached. But they do *not* believe that the blame for delay in reaching such an agreement rests solely upon a Republican Senate. If there was willful stubbornness in the Senate, it was at least balanced by the stubborn willfulness in the White House. And the Senate was, apparently, willing to concede in some measure, the President not at all.

We need for the next four years, it seems to me, a strong, businesslike, constructive, unsectional, and, so far as possible, unpartisan administration of our country's affairs. I believe the record of the Republican party in times of stress proves it to possess more of these characteristics than the Democratic.

There is another reason why, in my opinion, the Republican party should be put in power this fall. Calvin Coolidge is its Vice-Presidential candidate. Any ticket the success of which brings to the high executive councils of this country a man of Governor Coolidge's wise, impartial, common-sense Americanism deserves the support of every American.

"The Crosstrees,"
Chatham, Massachusetts.

REGINALD WRIGHT KAUFFMAN

Author of "Miss Frances Baird, Detective," "The House of Bondage," "The Mark of the Beast," "Victorious," etc.

REGINALD WRIGHT KAUFFMAN

HAS WATCHED THE DEMOCRATS AT WORK—ARGAL, HE—

FORTUNE furnished me a first-hand study of the Democratic party at work in the war in France, the Conference at Paris, the Administration here. I am a Republican.

The war? The cause was greater than its mistakes, but did not excuse those which were egregious. The Democratic party kept America unprepared in the face of an inevitable conflict; then sent our splendid boys from its pneumonia cantonments at home to battle abroad, unsupported by aircraft and artillery, amid an orgy of place-holders' extravagance, favorites' profiteering.

The peace? If I believed the Wilson-Cox League even tended to prevent war, I should vote for it. Its own text demonstrates that this body, sitting in Switzerland and destroying the Monroe Doctrine, could—by a decision wherein America had a voice equal only to that of the Hedjaz—draft American boys for Oriental wars.

Here? I have seen the Constitutional power of the people's representatives gradually usurped by the growing autocracy of the Executive.

I shall vote *against* the Democratic party because I will not help to perpetuate such policies. Because the Democratic party, which spent a billion dollars a month in office, now asks me to facilitate a course that has already resulted in inflated taxation and the high cost of living.

I shall vote *for* the Republican party, among other reasons, because its candidate believes in collective council, not a superman; because its platform calls for the restoration of popular government, not one-man power; for economy; the safeguarding of women and children in industry; a square deal for labor and capital; benefits to ex-service men and women; a revival of the Constitution decreed by our fathers; a strong foreign policy; immediate peace with honor; and only "such agreements with the other nations as shall meet the full duty of America to civilization and humanity, without surrendering the right of the American people to exercise its judgment and its power in favor of justice and of peace."

GERTRUDE ATHERTON

WOULD IF SHE COULD, BUT SHE CAN'T

I CANNOT vote, alas! I have no domicile. I returned to California last September after seven years' absence, and was about to register when I was taken ill. Two months later when I was discharged from hospital I was sent to Los Gatos and remained there four months. I did not register there, as I was told that I could wait until three months before election date, and I preferred to register where I was likely to be living at the time. Then, quite unexpectedly, in July, I came down here to remain for the rest of the year, and am informed that six months' residence is necessary to vote.

But if I could vote I fancy it would be for Harding. I don't think there is much choice between the candidates, and normally, as I am a Democrat, I should vote for Cox. But I prefer some one who is for the League of Nations with reservations and who would be likely to have an intelligent Cabinet.

Cox is certainly not distinguishing himself at present, but his accusations are hardly more temerarious than that of a man called Britten who testified recently that the reason for his belief that the $87,000 given the British Ambassador for entertainment purposes

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by his Government must have been intended for the Democratic fund, was because Sir Auckland Geddes (the Ambassador of Great Britain and representative of his sovereign) was a poor man, and therefore not likely to use that amount for entertaining. Don't you think it is time we opened a school for our minor politicians (and some major) for instruction in European customs and affairs? Such ignoramuses make us a laughing-stock.

The worst thing to be said about Harding is that the wrong newspapers are indorsing him, but I suppose that is merely a question of party politics—one of the several curses of this country.

I should vote for Senator Phelan's re-election if I were a black Republican, because he has served this State more ably and faithfully than any California Senator has ever done, and there is no doubt that a great many Republicans will vote for him on his record. But for the rest of the Democratic party I am not surcharged with enthusiasm at the present moment.

May I add that I wish that Nicholas Murray Butler could have been nominated and elected? He was the best-equipped man for the office in every way, including a profound knowledge of Europe. But his surpassing abilities were the best of reasons for not nominating him. He would be no man's tool.

With many thanks for your compliment in asking me to contribute to your syndicate.

The Goldwyn Studio,
Culver City, California.

GERTRUDE ATHERTON
Author of "The Conqueror," "The Californians," "Perch of the Devil," "Mrs. Balfame," etc.

SNARED

BY J. GEORGE FREDERICK

"IT'LL be too late—it'll be too late, I tell you!"

He was half-way out of his chair, his body tensely taut as a steel cable strained with the weight of a ship in a wind. Out of his black eyes, prismed by his glasses, came forth the incandescence of a mind and soul neurotically at war with life—burningly and bitterly at war.

The speed of his speech, rising and falling like the fury of a typhoon which one can only, sitting behind shelter, watch in fascinated awe, drowned out the tempered logic of any one about him, rolled over any argumentative answers like a wave breaking over a beach. Utter verbal inundation swiftly befell all who ventured to stand against him.

"You say we can't expect the millennium to arrive to-morrow. I tell you a millennium *has been ready* for a hundred years and capitalistic society has barred the doors against it, and will continue to bar the doors against it for another hundred years! Are we going to permit it? Are you going to go backward or forward? We're ruled by *catch-words;* we're lulled to sleep by fine phrases and made cowards by fear of change. Oh, I know it! I see it work on myself; the American proletariat is drugged and bribed—they've got us all bound to the wheel. But I tell you—"

After twenty minutes the intense white heat of this spirit aflame subsided to red hot, and soon to a strange pale glow, as though the fierce fires within had consumed all the fuel and were flickering and dying.

Then for a long time Aaron sat listless, the nostrils of his long, thin Jewish nose dilating with the tremor and exhaustion of a high-bred horse led to his paddock after a race. But soon again he would be at it; and so at alternating intervals would he keep up the debate, utterly unmindful of hours.

He was a school-teacher, and avoided the company of mature, strong-willed adults. Conservative mental poise and deliberate logic arrayed against him particularly infuriated him. He was not accustomed to and could not bear being crossed in argument; he shone best when in the company of callow adolescents of both sexes to whom he was an inspiration and a god.

Only in the rôle of uninterrupted expounder, orator, and denunciator was he thoroughly in character. He was rarely disciplined by minds of equal caliber, and thus there were no checks and counterbalances to his views and assertions, nor any arena of life except schoolroom and rostrum in which to relate his ideas to reality. He stormed and thundered, dissected and denounced, propounded and disposed of social and economic theory and philosophy, ostensibly with the assurance and facility of a Burke or a Webster. All his energy and passions and emotions were vented upon his discourses and his broodings and his attempted writings. Adolescent, uncritical girls, hypnotized by his magnificent earnestness, eloquence, and assurance, lost their hearts to him in numbers—but he vowed he would never marry; he was as impersonal toward women as bronze. He lived at home, and his mother or brother constantly had to see to it that he put on his overcoat or his hat or changed his clothes or had enough money in his pocket to get about. (He hated money—symbol of economic slavery, reminder of the crass things of reality.)

Then one day his mother died, his home was broken up, and he went to live with a friend's family. In it was Rose.

Soon it was Rose who saw to it that he wore an overcoat and did not go out without a necktie. Rose was ambitious to be a radical, as was the fashion among the brightest of her friends, and she gradually acquired the terminology. She too, with true Jewish reverence for what it believes to be learning, sat at Aaron's feet. He paid no attention to her personally until a young man began to court her, and until in her preoccupation over her incipient romance she neglected the usual personal attentions upon his comfort. Suddenly, then, he developed an overbearing jealousy which frightened and flattered her. It seemed to Aaron as if he could murder the young man who courted Rose. He looked himself over for the first time in his life to assay his personal attractiveness, and it seemed as if he never wanted anything so much in his life as to touch Rose. It quickly resulted in marriage.

Ensconced in a small apartment, the physical world pushed itself upward into Aaron's consciousness from all directions, like a slow tide. Guy-ropes from earth and reality rose up and drew firmly down the soaring lighter-than-air structure of his mind and soul, and diverted toward physical matters his former emotional concentration upon abstract things. A continuing consciousness of his appearance obsessed him, so that he actually fussed over his neckwear. A definite joy in ownership of sordid merchandise—furniture, rugs, and pictures—developed; and of course there was Rose, very concrete and shapely, an exclusive, intensely real possession.

Possessiveness grew upon him apace. He stopped giving books away with his old disdain of ownership. He counted his money with particular care—

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he even aspired to a cottage in the country. He worked over household budgets with Rose, and acquired, among other things, *embonpoint!*

And now when a thin, pale, neurotic youth enters upon a theoretical tirade in his presence against the social order, his voice rising to that same semi-emotional pitch and concentrated intensity of which Aaron was once a master, his eyes burning with that same blaze which now never shines in Aaron's, the latter grunts mildly, "Oh, cut it out!" and continues to tack down the carpet or something for Rose.

WHAT'S THE MATTER WITH THE EASTERN FARMER?

MUST FOOD PRICES STAY UP?

BY J. MADISON GATHANY

Brown Bros.

"HOW MUCH OF MY INCOME FOR THE NEXT FEW YEARS MUST BE SPENT FOR FOOD?" CO-OPERATIVE STORES LIKE THIS WILL HELP TO KEEP THAT PART DOWN

"IS the present cost of food necessary?"

"How much of my income for the next few years must be spent for food?"

"Are the farmers profiteers?"

"Will it cost more to produce foodstuffs in the future than it does at present?"

"Who is to blame?"

These are persistent, legitimate questions. Every consumer wants them answered. Most farmers I have talked to are willing and anxious to let the public know what they receive for their products. They will give the figures and the public can draw its own conclusions.

Whatever farmers pay to produce foodstuffs must affect the cost of living to the consumer. And certainly it would affect that cost materially more if the farmer conducted his business on a cost-plus basis, which he does not. Observe the difference in cost of grains *at wholesale* rates to farmers in July, 1913, compared with July, 1920. The figures were given to me by a grain dealer, not by a farmer. But most farmers are not in a financial position to buy in wholesale quantities, and hence have to pay considerably more than is shown by these figures:

	July, 1913.	July, 1920.
Corn	72½ cents per bushel	$2.11 per bushel
Oats	50½ " " "	1.34 " "
Bran	$23.20 per ton	62.50 per ton
Gluten	27.25 " "	78.50 " "
Linseed	34.00 " "	70.00 " "
Cotton-seed	34.50 " "	79.00 " "
Hay	22.00 " "	50.00 " "
Fertilizer	30.00 " "	$60 to $90 per ton

These are the principal raw materials that enter into the production of milk, beef, and general farm products: Another leading factor is labor. A few years ago milk hands received from $9 to $10 per week; to-day they receive from $32 to $36 per week, if day hands; if hired by the month, three times what they made in 1914. Farm help in general costs the farmer to-day from two and one-half to three times what it did three or four years ago. A few years ago it cost $1.25 to get a horse shod. To-day it costs from $2.75 to $3. All farm implements and tools cost now about three times as much as in 1915, all repair work from two to three times more. All agricultural seeds are from two to five times higher now than in 1914. The same grade of cows that cost the farmer $75 in 1914 now cost him $200.

What does the farmer get for his products? For milk in 1914 he was getting from 5 to 6 cents per quart; now he gets about 7½ to 8 cents net. For potatoes in the late fall of 1919 the New England farmer received on an average not more than $1.30 per bushel. (What did you pay for potatoes during the winter and last spring? Was it $1.50 per peck?) A Maine farmer told me that the average price received for potatoes through the farmers' exchanges last year was about 40 cents per peck, and that last year was the first time since 1916 that Maine farmers made a profit on raising potatoes.

Most perishable farm products sold on August 27, 1920, in New York wholesale markets and farmers' public markets at a lower price than at a corresponding date a year ago:

	1919.	1920.
Apples, per bushel	$1.00 to 2.00	$0.75 to 2.00
Cabbage, per bushel	1.50 " 2.00	.75 " 1.25
Green corn, 100 ears	2.00 " 3.50	2.50 " 3.00
Onions, per box	2.25 " 3.25	2.00 " 3.00
Potatoes, per bbl.	5.50 " 5.75	4.00 " 4.50
Tomatoes (in quarts)	.50 " 1.25	.50 " 1.00

What splendid encouragement to farmers for another year's planting!

400 PER CENT PROFIT PER BUSHEL

Last year farmers' wool sold for $1.40 per pound, scoured—that is, in condition to be dyed and made into yarn. Retailers sold the wool in the form of yarn for $4.70 to $5.25 per pound. Statistics show that of every $1,500 family budget, only about 23 per cent goes directly to the American farmer. A man who every year sells hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of perishable farm products informed me that the consumer pays from 100 per cent to 500 per cent more for those goods than the farmer receives for them.

A co-operative exchange sold asparagus at market for 14 cents per pound; it was sold to the public for 35 cents per pound. The same exchange sold spinach for 30 cents per bushel; it was sold to the public for $1.50 per bushel—an increase of 400 per cent.

Recent reports from 5,000 farmers

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indicate that the highest net monthly return of farmers was $102.76 in Massachusetts. In Maine it was $77.54, in New Hampshire $83.93, in Vermont $75.26, in Connecticut $84.05, in Rhode Island $82.48, and in northern New York $83.13. These farms paid labor an average monthly wage of from $69.11 in New York to $79.07 in Massachusetts. These farmers bore all the risks of management and depreciation and had to support their families, and yet got but little more per month than a hired man. A farmer has to pay $60 for a woolen suit which he knows has not over $4.50 worth of wool in it. He cannot get enough for a whole beef hide to purchase his daughter a pair of shoes.

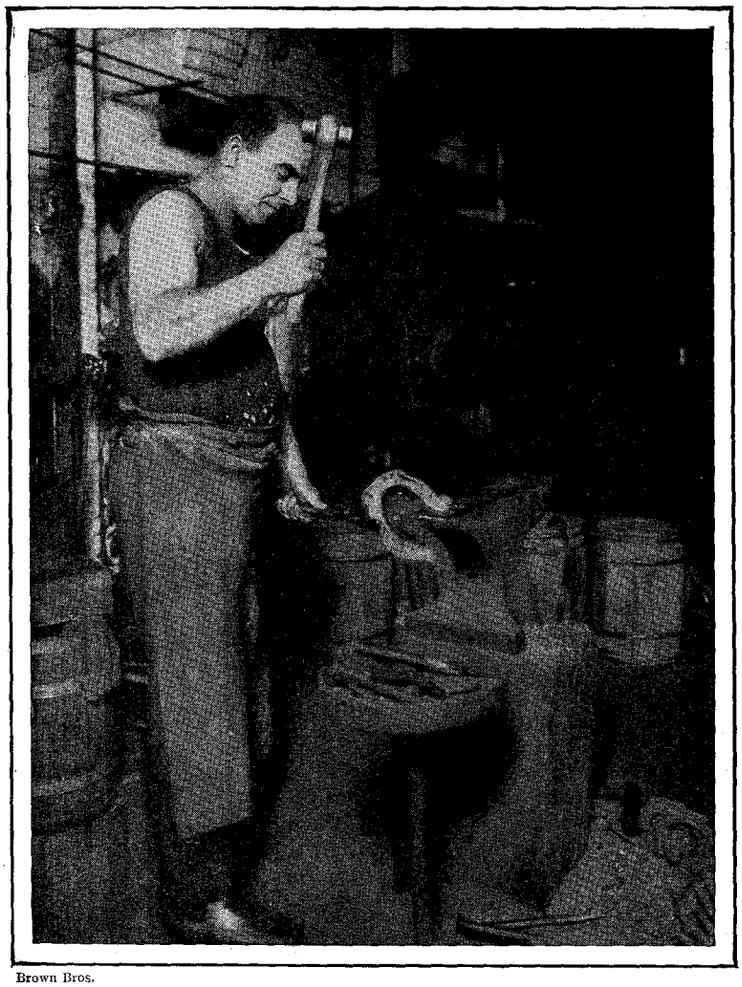
I made a 200-mile trip to talk with an agricultural economist. He declared that the average retail store alone takes about as much profit on food products as is taken by the country shipper, the transportation company, the wholesalers, and jobbers combined.

HOW TO KEEP FOOD PRICES DOWN

"Consumers must believe that from now on it will cost relatively more to *produce* food than it has in the past," he said. "If there is nothing the consumer can do to lessen the cost of distribution, then he will have to pay more for it in the future. I think that a lot can be done to lessen the cost of the distribution, so that, even with the necessary increase in cost of producing it, food need not necessarily cost the consumer more than it does now. The real question is not whether the cost of food can be lowered but whether it can be prevented from going higher. I say this in spite of the politicians' sweeping promises about reducing the high cost of living. Don't think that I am so foolish as to believe that there is no profiteering in foodstuffs these days. There is. And if National, State, and city officials and the daily press had gone at the question of profiteering rightly it could have been shut off easily long ago.

"Up to 1910 we were accustomed to cheap food, which we accepted as normal. Now if new rich land had a way of remaining forever rich while continuously under the plow, and if our population had not increased one hundred per cent from 1870 to 1910, there would have been no end to the *abnormal* condition of food supply. But valuable new farm land has been exhausted, and hereafter we must earn our bread by hard work. The day of cheap grain is gone.

"The public lands covered with grass and the increased production of corn accustomed us to low prices for meat. But the best pasture lands were gradually brought under cultivation to supply the increasing demands for wheat and cotton and homes. This change being a permanent one, henceforth we cannot figure upon God-produced grass in such abundance as heretofore. Of course we shall have meat, but mostly at the expense of plowing, applying fertilizer, and employing skill, all of which cost heavily. As a people we do not appreciate how cheaply we have secured farm products since 1870. The day of cheap meat, as the day of cheap bread, is gone.



Brown Bros.

"A FEW YEARS AGO IT COST $1.25 TO GET A HORSE SHOD. TO-DAY IT COSTS FROM $2.75 TO $3"

FARMING FOR PROFIT

"Agriculture is passing into the hands of *commercially minded* farmers who are intelligent and efficient. City people have been accustomed to the old type of farmer who produced without counting the cost. But that type of farmer is vanishing. The new type of farmer is going to pay his men as much as the industries pay theirs; is going to live on a scale befitting intelligent and efficient men. He is engaged in farming for profit, not for a mere living. This is the type of farmer we have got to depend upon for our future food supply. Food cost must stay up, because production rests upon a permanent competitive and commercial wage scale. Producers of food are now drawing together in an effort to do away with as much waste as possible by buying raw materials in wholesale lots, by standardizing vegetables and fruits, and by selling co-operatively.

"The farmer is not to blame if the consumer permits a distribution system to exist which makes the cost of foodstuffs greater than necessary. Why don't the consumers lay the foundations of a Nation-wide co-operative purchasing and distribution system of their own, thus meeting the farmers halfway? Then the co-operative consumers' agencies could deal with the co-operative producers' agencies direct," concluded my informant.

I find that there is an extraordinary recent growth of consumers' co-operation in the Eastern States. Many think it would be wise for our bankers, merchants, and manufacturers to lend all the encouragement and help they possibly can to the consumers' co-operative movement as an alternative to revolutionary Socialism. Co-operation among farmers and consumers has become a great economic force throughout Europe, and in these times the world is one. It is not unthinkable, therefore, that in a very few years producers' and consumers' co-operation will become a dominant factor in National and international industry.

In the West and Middle West there are hundreds of consumers' co-operative stores operating successfully, and these are now in the process of being welded together into a National unit. Those

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"THE CONSUMER PAYS FROM 100 PER CENT TO 500 PER CENT MORE FOR THESE GOODS THAN THE FARMER RECEIVES FOR THEM"

back of those co-operative stores are laying the foundation of a National wholesale society. The high cost of living since 1910, particularly since 1914, and the pronounced success of the movement in the West have induced consumers in the East to champion the co-operative principle. This is particularly true in western Pennsylvania, in the north central and south central parts of Massachusetts, in eastern New Jersey, in southeastern New York, and in Connecticut. Many co-operative consumers' stores are rapidly coming into successful operation. A great many of them are connected with our big mills and factories. Among them are the Co-operative League of America, the Central States Co-operative Society, the Tri-State Society, the Co-operative Wholesale Society of America, the American Rochdale Union, the American Co-operative Union, and the National Co-operative Association. There are now more than three thousand American co-operative societies, with membership of hundreds of thousands, that are managing retail stores and wholesale societies with surprising success.

FACTORY WORKERS OVERTHROW HIGH PRICES

The Eastern States Consumers' Exchange was chartered last May. Its headquarters are at Springfield, Massachusetts. It is the biggest co-operative consumers' movement in the East. The various co-operative stores felt the need of an expert central buying service. These local stores, frequently located within a factory, enable workers in a plant to secure their food and other goods in the most economical and efficient manner possible by estimating needs several months in advance and buying in the best seasons. The Eastern States Consumers' Exchange acts as a central brokerage for such stores, buying direct from manufacturers and farmers, principally through the Eastern States Farmers' Exchange. It binds together the purchasing power of the many local industrial co-operative stores. On its board of directors are some of the most successful and influential manufacturers and other business men in the East.

Much headway in co-operative buying of food supplies has been made among mill employees throughout New England, New York, and Pennsylvania in the last two years. The fact that manufacturers are lending their credit and in other ways backing up their employees in this plan indicates the stability of the movement in our economic and social life.

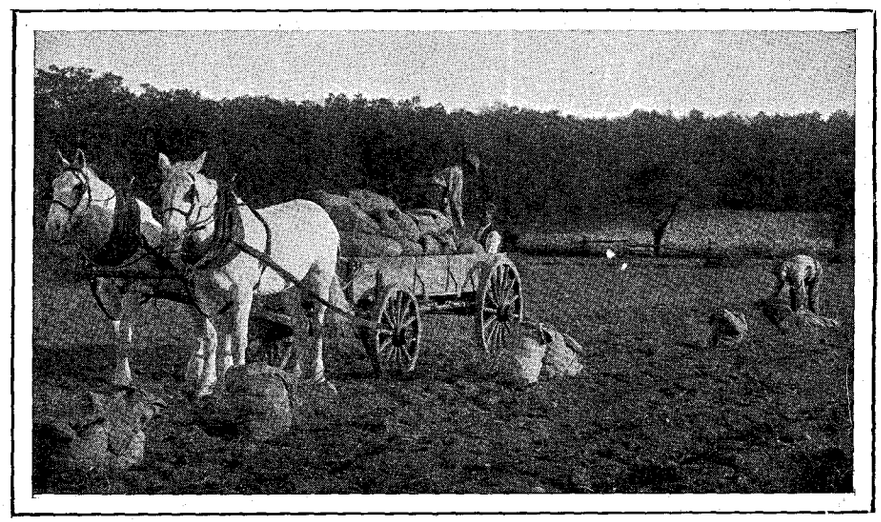
In some plants the employing company furnishes the entire store, the staff of workers, and the working capital. It gives to the employees the benefits of its purchasing ability, and distributes the commodities practically at cost, plus a minimum charge for overhead. But usually the employees themselves organize, elect their own officers, managers, and clerks, and provide their own capital by purchasing shares of stock. In some stores the co-operative element is effected by selling at wholesale prices plus five per cent added to the cost to cover the necessary expense of local handling. In other stores commodities are sold at approximately the same prices as at outside retail stores, the profits being distributed periodically in the form of dividends to the shareholders.

The most successful stores are those operated by the employees. The stores do not, for example, carry four or five brands of canned corn or as many brands of ham. The stores are run on somewhat the same plan as chain stores, but the goods are usually sold at a price under the chain store prices. The records of the stores are always open to inspection in order that members may know that products are sold at cost, plus only five per cent for operating expenses.

LESS SOCIAL DISCONTENT

Manufacturers interested in the co-operative store plan believe that social discontent is kept at a minimum when wages have the greatest possible purchasing power. The co-operative movement tends to stabilize the market prices not only on commodities handled by the co-operative stores but on other commodities. For the retail stores know that their prices must conform as nearly as possible to those of the co-operative stores. It also tends to increase the efficiency of dealers generally, because it forces them to think out better ways of merchandising in order to keep in business at all. Witness the downward trend of prices in retail stores that are located near chain stores.

The Eastern co-operative stores believe in purchasing food products, such



"THESE FARMERS BORE ALL THE RISKS OF MANAGEMENT AND DEPRECIATION, AND HAD TO SUPPORT THEIR FAMILIES, AND YET GOT BUT LITTLE MORE PER MONTH THAN A HIRED MAN"

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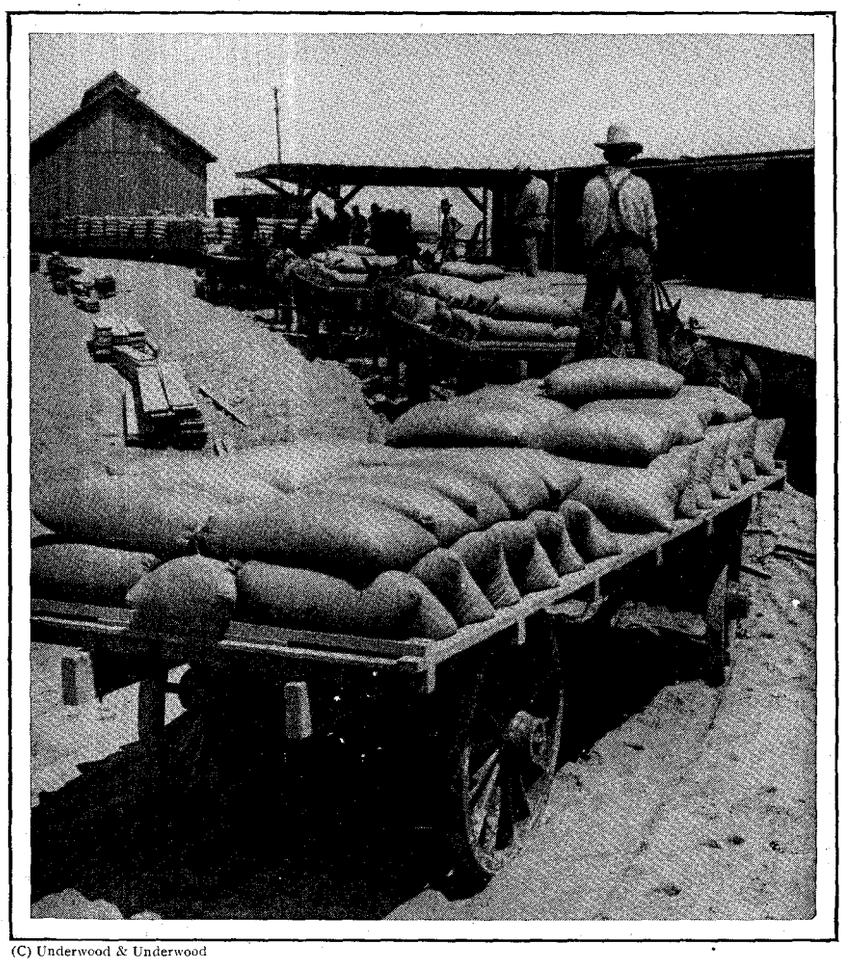
as potatoes, corn, and onions, so far as possible, from Eastern food producers, thus encouraging Eastern agriculture. Again, there is abundant proof that buying through co-operative exchanges saves from thirteen to twenty per cent on the retail and from seven to nine per cent on the wholesale end, making a total saving of from eighteen to twenty-nine per cent. Not the least benefit of this movement is the increased good will between the employers and the employees.

I found that one of the most distinguished bankers and practical economists in the United States believed heartily in the co-operative spirit, ardently wishing to see that spirit put into practice on a National scale. But he had some misgivings as to its practicability, as a result of observation and experience.

"Co-operation is a spiritual thing," said he. "It calls for a lot of give-and-take, also trust in one's fellow-men. I have found a tendency among many who have tried co-operation to damn the organization if they could buy at a non-co-operative store on a special sale day a pound of this or that goods half a cent cheaper than at their own co-operative store. Such failed to appreciate the game played by the enemies of co-operation. Then, too, if the management of a co-operative organization made a mistake some have not only damned the management but have left the organization, and ever afterwards have talked in a loud-mouthed way against co-operation. What would have become of our great business corporations if, every time the directors and executives made a mistake or exercised poor judgment, the stockholders had said, 'To hell with the corporation'?

"Co-operative purchasing is not any easy thing, for the difficulties of buying right at wholesale are astonishingly great. There are so many dishonest tricks. If consumers' co-operative purchasing is ever to amount to much, there will have to be a centralized purchasing management, not for a few but for scores of local consumers' organizations, and the consumers will have to practice the principle of co-operation consistently."

A secretary and general manager of broad experience in handling agricultural products through a very successful co-operative farmers' exchange said: "Until the consumers organize, no farmers' organization can be of much assistance to the consumer. What is needed more than anything else is a better understanding by city dwellers of the problems of the farmers and a realization that the middlemen between farmers and consumers have grown rich. City people should realize that the high cost of food products is not to be laid at the farmers' door, and that consumers themselves are responsible for allowing an army of middlemen and speculators to double and treble the price of farm products."



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THE COST OF FOOD ACCUMULATES ON THE WAY FROM THE FARMER TO THE TABLE. NOT THE COST OF PRODUCING BUT THE COST OF DISTRIBUTING FOOD CAN BE REDUCED

HOW TO STOP PROFITEERING

Can profiteering in food prices be stopped? Farmers believe it can. Here are some measures which they have suggested to me that they believe would end profiteering:

Let the city newspapers find out from farmers just what they get for certain products and to whom they sell them. Let them print the farmer's name and the price he received beside the names of the merchants purchasing them, also the price the merchants receive from the consumer. Instead of spending public money to carry on investigations into the high cost of living, which only make living more costly, let the city, the State, and the National governments actually trace given foodstuffs from the certain farms to certain retail stores, buy advertising space in city newspapers, and publish the names and the prices that certain farmers received and certain wholesalers and retailers got for the same articles. What a scramble there would be to read the advertisements!

Let the consumers demand from the State and National lawmakers the passage of laws requiring that the original sale price of every article be plainly marked or tagged. These are simple and easy ways of getting at the profiteers, the farmers tell us, but they say that it would require courage and backbone to carry out the suggestions.

Must food prices stay up? The cost of *producing* food cannot reasonably be expected to be reduced. The cost of *distributing* food certainly can be reduced if producers and consumers organize themselves in such a way as to deal directly with each other instead of through so many intermediaries. The farmer is ready to do his share. Is the consumer?

Deliberate attempts have been made to suppress the Government Crop Reports in order that prices of foodstuffs could be manipulated, according to J. Madison Gathany in the fourth and last of his articles, "What's the Matter with the Eastern Farmer?" which will appear in an early issue of The Outlook. In it he discloses further evils and points out further remedies.

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PICTURES FROM OUTLOOK READERS

(See offer on page 207)

From Mrs. G. Vernon Jackish, Poplar, Montana

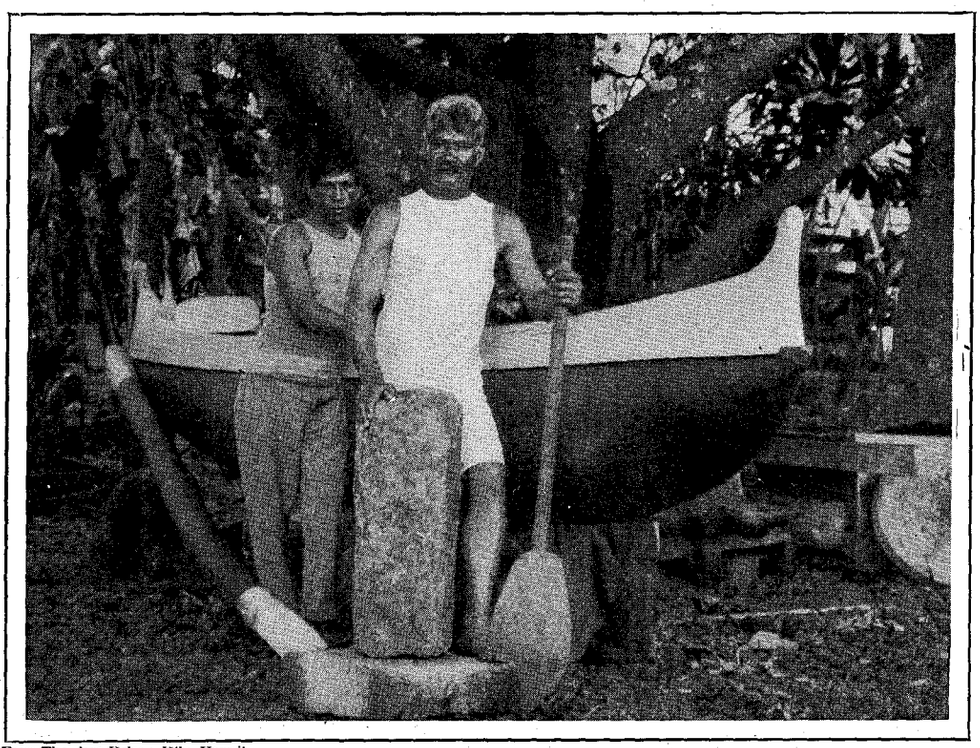
A PAPAGO SQUAW MAKING TORTILLAS

This Indian woman belongs to an Arizona tribe. From the dough she is kneading she will make thin cakes

From S. W. Phelps, Tokyo, Japan

A JAPANESE PILGRIM

Pilgrims to the numerous shrines in Japan are frequently seen. This man is standing in the shadow of an old temple in which he has just been praying



From Theodore Kelsey, Hilo, Hawaii

A NATIVE HAWAIIAN AND HIS CANOE

The old Hawaiian and his companion are putting the finishing touches on the canoe, which will be supplied with an outrigger (seen at the left). The stone on which the man's hand rests is one formerly used in human sacrifices, before the introduction of Christianity

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THE BOOK TABLE: DEVOTED TO BOOKS AND THEIR MAKERS

CONCERNING BIOGRAPHY AND CERTAIN BIOGRAPHERS OF ROOSEVELT[1]

BY A FRIEND OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

TO write the biography of a great man is a parlous business. To write a book about any man who yesterday or a month ago was walking among us, living, as all wholesome human beings live, with countless tentacles outstretched, touching countless other lives, is a perplexing and hazardous undertaking. The man himself has gone, but the men and women he loved and who loved him remain. The more they loved him (to a certain point), the less clearly they saw him. The more lovable he was, moreover, the more surely, after his passing, judgment becomes confused as faults and virtues blend in a radiant blur of post-mortem devotion.

Into this sacred atmosphere of iridescences and incense steps the biographer, pencil in hand. He has three choices. He can breathe deeply and, succumbing to the most delicious and most deadly of all opiates, transcribe for posterity the emotional and hazy conceptions of greatness of a congregation of hero-worshipers. Parson Weems did something like that for Washington, and Parson Weems has been justly damned ever since, and will be damned as long as history endures, for he has given posterity a statue when he should have given it a great companion. Washington is fixed in the imagination. Parson Weems fixed him. Having access to the intimate records that lay ready for use in the memories of Washington's comrades in arms and associates at home and in the Government, the author of "The Bad Wife's Looking-Glass; or, God's Revenge Against Cruelty to Husbands" chose to disregard whatever he found there which tended to transport his demigod out of the clouds down to the world of ordinary men, and gave to history this devastating apotheosis:

> Swift on angels' wings the brightening saint ascended; while voices more than human were warbling through the happy regions, and hymning the great procession toward the gates of heaven. His glorious coming was seen afar off; and myriads of mighty angels hastened forth, with golden harps, to welcome the honoured stranger. . . . At sight of him, even these *blessed spirits* seem to feel new raptures, and to look more dazzlingly bright. In joyous throngs they pour round him—they devour him with their eyes of love—they embrace him in transports of tenderness unutterable; while from their roseate cheeks, tears of joy, such as angels weep, roll down.

Parson Weems, no doubt, stands on an eminence of his own, but his particular folly is merely an extreme instance of a quality in biographers which does all the more harm because it clothes itself in a phrase which has a virtuous sound. *De mortuis nil nisi bonum* appeals to the instinct for fair play, since the dead cannot explain or fight back. But on the lips of biographers it is pernicious; for it means, in essence, that, whereas one may be permitted to tell the truth about the living, concerning the dead one is expected to lie.

So much for one extreme. The other is far more entertaining, and in its final results perhaps less devastating; but it is no less unjust. It is represented by the method and the mental attitude of Lytton Strachey, whose "Eminent Victorians,"[1] purporting to be cool-headed biography, comes precious close to being pure satire.

FOUNDER'S MEDAL OF THE ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION, DESIGNED BY JAMES E. FRASER

In his Introduction Mr. Strachey reveals his point of view. It is not the biographer's business, he says, to be complimentary. "It is his business to lay bare the facts of the case as he understands them. That is what I have aimed at in this book—to lay bare the facts of some cases, as I understand them, dispassionately, impartially, and without ulterior intentions. To quote the words of a master—'*Je n'impose rien; je ne propose rien; j'expose.*'"

In those final words have we not the expression of the other extreme from Parson Weems? To the biographer of Washington his subject is a patron saint to be adored; to the biographer of the four eminent Victorians his subject is, in each case, a dubious character to be "exposed."

The ideal lies somewhere between the silly ecstasies of Parson Weems and the subtle and highly intellectual "muck-raking" of Mr. Strachey. To have the subject of his great biography to be seen as he really was, was Boswell's ambition, "for I profess to write," he says, "not his panegyric, which must be all praise, but his Life; which, great and good as he was, must not be supposed to be entirely perfect. To be as he was is, indeed, subject of panegyric enough to any man in this state of being; but in every picture there should be shade as well as light, and when I delineate him without reserve, I do what he himself recommended, both by his precept and his example."

It would be difficult to find a better expression of the ideal conception of the biographer's task, for it combines, as the biographer in himself must combine, devotion to truth with devotion to his subject. Love, undirected by truth, makes sentimentality; the passion for truth, unilluminated by love, makes satire. The biographer who seeks so to draw his subject that, in Boswell's words, "he will be seen as he really was," cannot regard one quality apart from the other. In him devotion to his subject will be so fused with devotion to truth that he himself will not be able to say where one ceases and the other begins; and he will find the same delight in the discovery of an unexpected fault in his subject as he would experience in the discovery of a virtue he did not know was there; since fault and virtue alike are parts of the picture and the picture is one not of an abstraction but of a man.

It remains to be seen what luck Theodore Roosevelt will have with the biographers. One thing is certain. They will never be able to do with him what the parson did with Washington. Roosevelt, who was forehanded, himself has seen to that. His letters to his children reveal a personality which all the professors in the world will not be able to make appear aloof and statuesque, or, as his critics loved to paint him, domineering and self-seeking and bloodthirsty. He wanted the letters published, it seems; for he knew the way of biographers, and he wanted posterity to know, not the public man only, but the family man who found delight in the mysterious ways of children and was the rarest sort of companion for children of every age. Among the books which Roosevelt wrote and which others wrote about Roosevelt or still may write, this volume stands by itself, and always will stand by itself, a perfect picture of that blending of strength and tenderness which not even his enemies could resist.

Some day, doubtless, there will be a real biography of Roosevelt. It will be a book of many volumes, and it will take the best years of some man's life to write. Most of the "biographies" published since Roosevelt's death are either "market produce," or, like William Roscoe Thayer's sizable volume, chronicles of reminiscences expanded by an apparent afterthought into a record of Roosevelt's whole career. Mr. Thayer's book is entertaining and informative, but as a biography it is not to be named in the same breath with his "Life and Times of Cavour," or even his "Life of John Hay." Aside from the personal memories of Roosevelt which it contains the material in it is old and almost threadbare. A half-dozen earlier biographies of Roosevelt, together with Roosevelt's "Autobiography" and Mr. Thayer's own book on Hay, supply Mr. Thayer with most of his facts, and these, it seems, he has been content to take largely on faith, with a sweet confidence in the reliability of the printed word which one does not expect from a canny historian like Mr. Thayer. Certain stories concerning Roosevelt's Western life, for instance, which Mr. Thayer has repeated without question are,

[1] Theodore Roosevelt's Letters to His Children. Edited by Joseph Bucklin Bishop. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

Theodore Roosevelt: An Intimate Biography. By William Roscoe Thayer. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

Life of Theodore Roosevelt. By William Draper Lewis. Introduction by William Howard Taft. The John C. Winston Company, Philadelphia.

Impressions of Theodore Roosevelt. By Lawrence F. Abbott. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York.

Talks with T. R. By John J. Leary, Jr. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

Bill Sewall's Story of T. R. By William Wingate Sewall. Harper & Brothers, New York.

Theodore Roosevelt: The Man as I Knew Him. By Ferdinand C. Iglehart, D.D. The Christian Herald, New York.

[1] Eminent Victorians. By Lytton Strachey. Chatto & Windus, London.

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so far as the present writer has been able to discover, pure fiction. Others are dubious, to say the least. The true inwardness of the romance of Roosevelt's Dakota days Mr. Thayer nowhere suggests.

The book only skims the surface of the great story of Roosevelt's life. This is not due to the need for brevity, for Mr. Strachey, in a quarter of the space, reaches the very heart and marrow of his character. The simple truth appears to be that Mr. Thayer started out to write a little book of reminiscences, and was persuaded to make it a "Life." The reminiscences are pure gold, and the future biographer will rise up and bless Mr. Thayer for them; but the rest is journeyman's work, redeemed from flatness only by Mr. Thayer's human and charming touch. There has been no real research in the making of this book. Research, in fact, was out of the question if the book was to appear serially, as it actually did appear, within five or six months of Roosevelt's death. For the facts about Roosevelt are not to be gathered in half a year or even in half a dozen years. They are scattered over the length and breadth of forty-eight States, and the biographer who sets himself to gathering them will have to wander like Odysseus before he has gathered them all.

The "Life" by William Draper Lewis has the same virtues and the same superficiality as Mr. Thayer's. One wonders whether it, too, did not start out as a modest book of reminiscences which was expanded against the author's better judgment into a stately "biography." Here, too, the reminiscences are pure gold, dealing as they do mainly with the Progressive fight, in which Dean Lewis was a potent factor. But they are lost in a bulky volume too hastily written to permit of regard for the subtle thing we call "style," which is at bottom only the manifestation of a personality acting as a sort of *cicerone* through the gray world of common facts. One suspects that the book may contain a great many interesting things which one did not know before, but one is resigned to remain in ignorance.

Just because it is pure reminiscence and does not pretend to be anything else, Lawrence F. Abbott's "Impressions of Theodore Roosevelt" is a more valuable book than either Mr. Thayer's or Mr. Lewis's, and is likely to outlive them both. It tells the story of a friendship which began at the time Roosevelt was Police Commissioner and remained constant and intimate until Roosevelt's death. The book is rich in striking incidents which illuminate at the same time Roosevelt's personal character and his public career as no other book has done.

> "I believe that Theodore Roosevelt's greatest contribution to his country and his time," writes Mr. Abbott, "was personality—was Theodore Roosevelt himself. . . . It is as a living, breathing human person that he will be longest remembered. There doubtless have been greater statesmen, greater writers, greater explorers, greater preachers, greater soldiers; but there never was a greater patriot, nor has any one individual man in modern times touched so many and so varied fields of activity in human life with such zest and vitality, or with such practical and successful achievements in all of them. Among soldiers he was greeted as a soldier; among statesmen, as a statesman; among pioneers and woodsmen, as a hunter and naturalist; among scientists, as a scholar and explorer; among men of letters, as a writer and historian; among preachers, as a teacher of morals; among kings, as a man of royal prerogatives; among plain men and women, as a fellow-citizen and democrat; and —last, but far from least, among children, as a protector and sympathetic companion. His personality was a unique and unprecedented combination of many qualities, any one of which, carried to a high development, makes what we call a great man."

It is that personality which stalks mightily through the pages of this book, with all its indefinable but irresistible power of drawing men. Character cannot be revealed, it can only reveal itself; and in these pages we see how Roosevelt's revealed itself under a hundred varying circumstances in Mulberry Street or the White House, in the Outlook office or in the palaces of kings. He gave the kings an even more thrilling time, it seems, than they gave him, and as a contributing editor he was an inspiration; and with the kings he was self-assured, but with his editorial associates he was modest, now and then expressing a doubt whether he were really earning his salt. To one who had seen him in action under widely varying conditions his caution, his courage, his sense of humor, and his tenderness seemed the qualities which predominated over all others, and it is the memory of those qualities that remain in the mind of the reader as he withdraws from the magic ring and reluctantly closes a singularly delightful book.

Mr. Leary's "Talks with T. R." is, like Mr. Abbott's volume, a book of memories which the future biographer will cherish for its vivid records of the manifestation of that protean and elusive thing we call personality. Mr. Maurice Low, in a book on Woodrow Wilson, published four or five years ago, prophesied a more lasting fame for Mr. Wilson than for Roosevelt, on the ground that Mr. Wilson's fame was based on achievement, while Roosevelt's was based on personality, and the effect of personality, he concluded, ended with the grave. Quite apart from Mr. Low's major contention concerning the relative achievements of the two men who fought each other so bitterly, his concluding statement challenges question. The "achievements" of a great man have a way of losing their value as time passes; but personality survives in legendry, and a hero's fame will grow in the eyes of posterity, not because of a growth in the comprehension of the task he accomplished, but because of a growth in the understanding of his personality. Thus Lincoln stands higher in the eyes of his countrymen to-day than he did when he died, not because his work in saving the Union looms larger to us than it did to our grandfathers, but because we know Lincoln's personality better than our grandfathers knew it. A thousand stories told by this man and that man have gradually disclosed to us the full vision of Lincoln as he lived and strove. The effect of his personality did not end with the grave. It is more potent every day.

So it is likely to be with Roosevelt. His tangible achievements were great (possibly Mr. Low does not know his American history very well), but the intangible influence of his personality was of far wider and deeper significance. To keep the knowledge of that personality vivid and clear and shining for the men and women of the future is the great obligation which the generation which knew "T. R." owes to the generations unborn, in payment for the privilege it enjoyed.

It is the peculiar obligation of those who knew Roosevelt personally to preserve their memories of him. This obligation Mr. Leary has bountifully paid. His volume is the minute record, copied from his diary, of his meetings with Roosevelt during a period covering twenty years. Wiser than many of his compatriots, he was well aware that he was in the presence of greatness when he was with Roosevelt, and he kept Boswellian notes of all that Roosevelt said on fifty or more different subjects, from Dewey to devil-fishing, and from John L. Sullivan to Woodrow Wilson. How he broke with Taft and how he was reconciled to Taft is recorded by Mr. Leary in Roosevelt's own words. In his own words also Mr. Leary transcribes the story of Roosevelt's one interview with President Wilson, of his various clashes with the Kaiser, of the way Roosevelt lost his eye. Here in cold black and white are Roosevelt's opinions of Root and Hughes and John Purroy Mitchel and Henry Ford and Pershing and Leonard Wood; and, like a refrain, again and again and again, are the various modulations of the one opinion he held concerning Woodrow Wilson. It is all vastly entertaining, though one wonders whether the obligation of discretion which private conversation implies has not in certain cases been prematurely sacrificed in the interest of impartial history.

These familiar anecdotes of the "Colonel," these snatches of conversation through which one can almost hear the click of the teeth and see the facial contortions that used to herald some particularly pertinent remark about one of his pet enemies—they are all invaluable stuff for the historian to mull over when the time comes to build a real biography of Roosevelt.

These volumes are source-books, giving each its picture or series of pictures of the man in action. And there are others. "Bill Sewall's Story of T. R." tells of the outdoor Roosevelt whom the genial backwoodsman knew in Maine and in Dakota—a striking little book, fresher in its material than many a stately octavo. Dr. Ferdinand Iglehart's "Theodore Roosevelt: The Man as I Knew Him" is a badly arranged mixture of eulogy, biography, and anecdote; but, for him who will dig for it, it contains much that is interesting, notably in regard to Roosevelt's religious views. This too is a source-book, but the blessings of the future biographer will be mixed with imprecations as he endeavors to cut his way through the jungle to the little clearing here and there where a bit of treasure lies buried.

Some day a real biography of Theodore Roosevelt will be written, and these books will go to the making of it. There should be a hundred like them, each with its stories of one man's vision, one man's contacts with Theodore Roosevelt. From many books like these and from a few perhaps that are unlike these, being critical, maybe, of this act or that, of this characteristic or the other, the biographer who writes "not his panegyric, which must be all praise, but his Life," may be able to bring before the imagination of the lovers of heroic men in ages yet to be the vision of that living, pulsating human being who was the greatest American of his time and the most engaging, intrepid, and tender fighting man in history.

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The famous Valspar boiling water test

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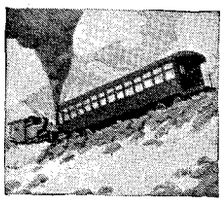

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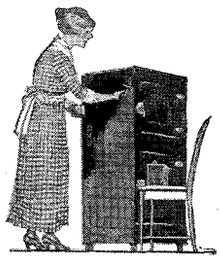
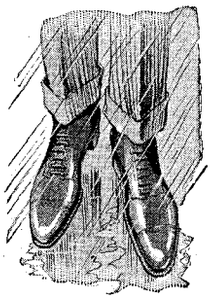


Canoes, etc.—Valspar preserves and protects canoes, paddles, oars, baseball bats, bowling alleys, balls and pins, croquet sets, skis and snowshoes.

Tennis Rackets—Valspar makes the strings moisture-proof, protects the frame.

Shoes—An occasional coat of Valspar makes shoe soles wear twice as long and absolutely keeps the dampness out.



Window and Door Screens—Valspar keeps the wire from rusting and the frames like new.

Gun Stocks—The smooth finish of gun stocks is preserved by Valspar.

Fishing Rods—A coat of Valspar will double the life of bamboo, wood or metal rods. Creels also.

But we want to learn still more ways in which Valspar has been used successfully. There must be lots of them. If you know of any, here's your chance.

88 Cash Prizes

Have you ever used Valspar for an unusual purpose? Did you ever Valspar anything other than the articles listed above? Do you know from experience of any use for Valspar not mentioned in this advertisement? If so, tell us about it and try for a prize.

We offer cash for new Valspar uses. The 88 suggestions which in the judgment of the Prize Award Committee are most interesting and best suited for advertising Valspar will be awarded the prizes as follows:

One Prize of	$100	
Two Prizes of	50	each
Five Prizes of	20	"
Ten Prizes of	10	"
Twenty Prizes of	5	"
Fifty Prizes of	2	"

Conditions of the Contest

The only conditions of the contest are:—

1. Valspar must actually have been used, prior to Sept. 15th, 1920, under the circumstances and with the results you describe.
2. You must give the name and address of your local paint dealer.

Just write us a letter setting forth the facts in your own words.

Today is the best time to do it. All replies must be in by December 1st, 1920.

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VALENTINE'S
VALSPAR
The Varnish That Won't Turn White

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THIS WEEK'S OUTLOOK

A WEEKLY OUTLINE STUDY OF CURRENT HISTORY[1]

BY J. MADISON GATHANY

SCARBOROUGH SCHOOL, SCARBOROUGH-ON-HUDSON, N. Y.

The Gamblers and the Ball Players

WHAT difference does it make whether or not sports are clean? How would you prove to a person who does not believe it that clean sports are a National asset?

Is there a law in your State against betting? If there is, do you or do you not consider it an unwarranted meddling with private affairs?

Is there a law in your State barring any person from voting who bets on the election? If not, should there be?

Is there any real moral difference between betting and bribery?

What punishment do you think the guilty ball players should receive? What have they already received? What punishment would you suggest for the gamblers who bribed them? What are your reasons for both answers?

There is considerable talk about legislative action on account of the baseball scandal. What can legislation do? Can a person be legislated into moral goodness? What are the limits of legislation in the curing of abuses? Is legislation creative or preventive, or both?

Is private opinion or legislation or public opinion the greatest protection against dishonesty in those things that depend upon the public for support?

In its issue of October 6, 1920, The Outlook spoke of baseball as an industry. Is this characterization correct? If baseball is an industry, can you make several significant comparisons between it and other industries?

What lesson for owners of baseball clubs do you see in this baseball scandal?

Define the following: *Professional gamblers, syndicate, parasites, menace, easy money.*

Samuel Gompers

Has Mr. Rogers proved to your satisfaction that "Mr. Gompers is a real American and a sincere friend of labor"?

What can Mr. Rogers mean by saying that there are proportionately just as many I. W. W.'s in the ranks of capital as there are in the ranks of labor? Do you know of such in the ranks of capital?

Mr. Gompers is of the opinion that the whole scheme of Bolshevism leads to nowhere. Can you substantiate this opinion?

Is it true that there is no group of men on earth fit to dictate to the rest of the world? Would or would not the preachers constitute such a group? Or the well trained in law or in government?

What do you understand is meant by saying that "America is a symbol"? How much more than this is it?

What are your definitions for the following terms: *Excerpts, patriot, will-o'-the wisp, tenets?*

If you are interested in knowing further what Mr. Gompers believes, read his volumes entitled "Labor and the Common Welfare" (Dutton); "American Labor and the War" (Doran); and "Labor and the Employer" (Dutton). Read also in connection with this article "Organized Labor in American History," by F. B. Carlton (Appleton), and "Trade Unionism in the United States" by R. F. Hoxie (Appleton).

President Wilson s Appeal

How many people of your acquaintance have actually read the League Covenant? Have you? Is a person entitled to express an opinion on the question whether the United States should enter the League who has not read and studied the Covenant?

Does the Covenant contain anything that interferes with or impairs the "Constitutional arrangements" of the United States? If you think it does, point out specific statements in the Covenant itself that support your belief. Does the fact that the Covenant creates a moral obligation (which the President declares is greater than a legal obligation) limit the Constitutional freedom of Congress?

Senator Harding contends that President Wilson has "scrapped his own League." Is this a fair comment? Is the League scrapped or is it a working concern?

Does the League Covenant create a "super-national" government?

What is The Outlook's opinion of the President's appeal? What reasons have you for agreeing or disagreeing with it?

More than forty nations have already entered the League. Were they foolish in doing so? What nations do not belong to it?

Which, in your opinion, has the better candidate and the better cause?

Have you read the following recently published books: "The League of Nations at Work," by A. Sweetser (Macmillan); "American World Policies," by D. J. Hill (Doran); "The New World Order," by F. C. Hicks (Doubleday, Page).

Novelists, The Outlook, and the Election

Do the political opinions of the American novelists found elsewhere in this issue of The Outlook increase your understanding of them?

Are you going to allow or refuse to allow these writers to influence you in determining for whom to vote November 2? What are your reasons?

Some of these novelists tell us that they are going to vote for Harding because they have had enough of personal government. Has President Wilson exceeded the authority granted to him by the Constitution and by Congress? You should prove what you say.

Can a President violate the spirit of the Constitution while still obeying its letter? Has the President done this? Again prove what you say?

What is the value of the opinions expressed by these eight novelists and by The Outlook in its comment upon their opinions?

[1] These questions and comments are designed not only for the use of current events classes and clubs, debating societies, teachers of history and English, and the like, but also for discussion in the home and for suggestion to any reader who desires to study current affairs as well as to read about them. —THE EDITORS.

"A Drop of Prevention"

Keep a bottle of New-Skin in the medicine chest at home, in your desk, in your handbag.

New-Skin forms an antiseptic protection over little skin injuries which keeps out the germs and assists in the healing process.

15c and 30c. At all Druggists.

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Start Your Boy on the Road to True Manhood

Help him to get started right by giving him THE BOYS' MAGAZINE.

Send only 25 cents today for a three months' subscription. By accepting this remarkable low price offer you save 35 cents over the newsstand price as the price *per copy* is 20 cents.

This is the formative period of your boy's life. What he will amount to in after years depends largely on what he is reading now. You want him to be wide-awake, progressive—forward-looking—to develop ideas and initiative and to learn to make his own way in the world.

You can make him no better gift than a subscription to THE BOYS' MAGAZINE. This great periodical will give him entertainment, instruction and the inspiration to accomplish big things.

Your boy must keep abreast of the times. What he reads has much to do with what he THINKS and DOES. Guard him against trashy, sensational and misleading stories. Give him the kind of reading which entertains, yet inspires and instructs. THE BOYS' MAGAZINE will develop your boy's initiative, foster right THINKING and right DOING, and make him a manly, moral and courageous boy.

Besides a wealth of splendid stories and special articles each issue contains departments devoted to Electricity, Mechanics, Wireless, Popular Science, Athletics and Physical Training, Editorials, Stamp and Coin Collecting, Moving Picture Plays and Players, Amateur Photography, Cartooning, Outdoor Sports, Illustrated Jokes, etc., etc.

Send only 25 cents, today, for a three months' subscription. We will refund your money promptly and without question if you are not more than pleased with THE BOYS' MAGAZINE. (Remit in stamps if more convenient.) Address

THE SCOTT F. REDFIELD CO., Inc.
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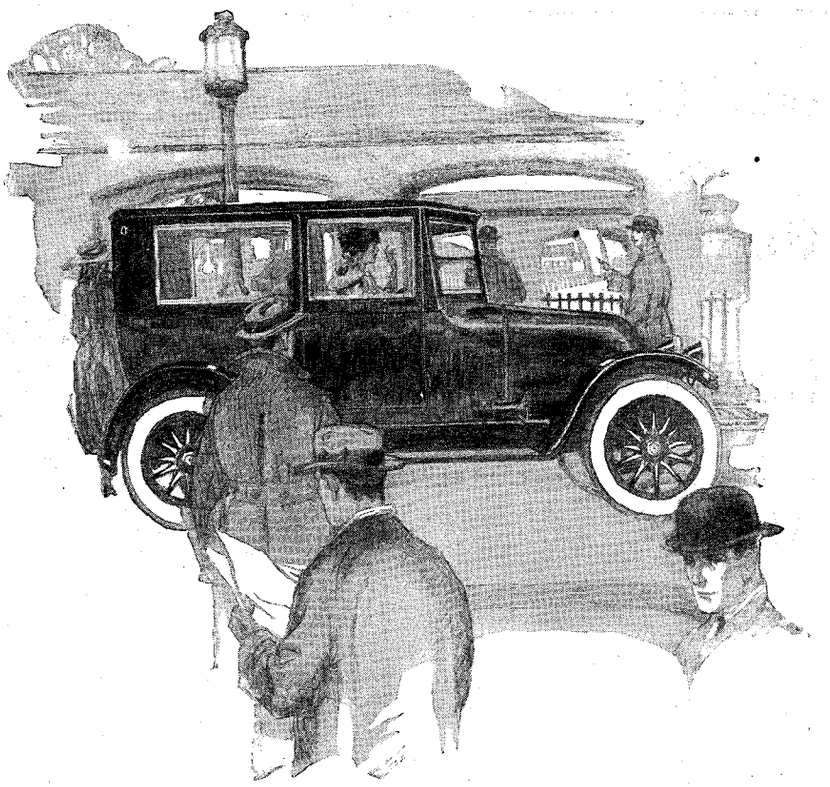

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20 miles to the gallon of gasoline
12,500 miles to the set of tires
50% slower yearly depreciation
(*National Averages*)

THE time-saving and effort-saving uses to which a car is put daily bring out Franklin advantages as positively as long tours do.

Economical at all times, the Franklin Sedan is easy on drivers' nerves, riders' energy and owners' patience. Light weight, flexibility and direct air cooling make it easy to handle and comfortable over all roads, and do away with most tire troubles and all cooling troubles.

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Cool in summer, and capable of covering longer distances in a day than most open cars, the Franklin Sedan is the most satisfactory year-round car made.

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A Stable Government

Rests Upon

Christian Citizenship

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Christian Citizenship

Will Ultimately Express Itself in

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An Acknowledgment of Christ the King is due from every Nation

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GET ACQUAINTED WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP

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Instead of talking about the weather, talk about The Outlook. Whenever you read an Outlook article that interests you, tell your friends about it. You don't have to do any soliciting. We do all that. Our new subscription plan makes it easy for teachers, students, and others to earn money during spare time in a simple and dignified manner. A request by post-card will bring you full instructions. Write us today before you forget.

Department R

The Outlook Co., 381 Fourth Ave., New York City

P. S. S.

BY CHARLES GILBERT HALL

It is small wonder that the old horsehair sofa of our mothers' day and the stiff crinoline that their mothers wore mean no more to our every-day curiosity than the cushions in an ultra-modern car or the excellent stiffening inside the lapels of our coats.

But there are men whose business it is to deal in horsehair, and who watch these things quite closely, whose modest and unheralded craft is a well-organized and well-established one, and enters into our lives in various unexpected and unrealized ways. The old-fashioned sofa in the darkened parlor is a thing of the past, but horsehair still appears on fine furniture—of pure white hair, these days dyed into various colors and designs of the most fashionable taste.

Fine horsehair is used for various purposes now. It makes the finest of toothbrushes, while for violin bows nothing has ever been found to take its place successfully; its unusual resiliency, elasticity, lightness, and strength, and its ability to retain the resin to an unusual degree, make it invaluable for violins.

But most of it is used for weaving the ordinary haircloth of commerce, used to give stiffening to the lapels and collars of coats, to add the necessary rigidity to a Palm Beach suit or immaculate white flannels, and some of it this year to make ladies' hats.

A good horsetail yields about a pound and a quarter of hair, and the most of it comes to the American market dressed, hackled, and carded, clean and free from grease or dirt, sorted and bundled as to color and as to length, put up in sizes ranging in units of a quarter inch, from four inches to forty-eight inches long.

Two-thirds of all the hair is black; the other one-third is white, mixed, or silver gray. The white and silver gray are of special value for certain purposes, such as making fine brushes and for weaving into cloth that can be dyed and which is used in the finest upholstery.

The white hair, washed, sorted, dipped in bichloride of lime, and bleached with sulphur fumes, is beautifully clear and of an almost transparent whiteness.

The manes are sold mostly to manufacturers of curled hair, most of which is a mixture of hair from horses, hogs, and cattle, sterilized, spun into ropes to give a resilient twist, and afterwards torn apart by machinery that leaves it a bulky, spongy mass that gets its resiliency from having been through the process of twisting and spinning.

The hair from the manes is of a considerably finer texture than the tails, and a small fraction of it is dressed and made into brushes for vacuum cleaners, varnish brushes of the cheaper kind, and other similar products.

Of the tails, too, the short hair, up to about fourteen inches in length, is used for brushes—floor brushes, clothes brushes, shoe brushes, and such. From fourteen inches up to forty-eight is used by the weavers of haircloth, fifteen of whom in the United States operate four thousand looms—ingenious little machines that pick up each hair separately, weaving it into intricate French, herring-bone, or other designs, or into plain cloth, each loom using up about ten pounds of hair per week and weaving about eight yards of cloth to the pound

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Like other textiles, haircloth is designated by the number of threads—or hairs—to the inch. Twenty-four pick means, to the trade, twenty-four strands to the inch; and they run as high as sixty pick in the finer cloth.

About eighty-five per cent of all the horsehair used in this country comes from the Siberian steppes, bought usually at the famous fair held each year at the ancient Tartar city of Nijni Novgorod, where Cossacks of the Don, Tartars, Georgians, and Ottomans meet buyers from all the world.

It is a strange assemblage. Each buyer or his agent comes prepared to make his purchases for a whole year's supply, and usually each man is so well known before he sells that the buyer buys the product sight unseen. Occasionally the law of *caveat emptor*, with a timid man, prevails so strongly that a bale or two is perfunctorily examined. But it is a strange and interesting fact, bearing upon the character of commercial transactions in this little-known country of the steppes, that this is not generally done.

The picturesque Tartar, wearing, though himself a Mohammedan, the costume of the Russian *muzhik*, is always ready to talk business after his own peculiar way. This means that buyer and seller, having settled down, drink, perforce, at least one large samovar of Russian tea before either trespasses on the conventions by broaching the subject most near his heart. Then they talk business.

The buyer always pays cash. This is done through the Nijni banks, which know the game in all its peculiar ramifications. The buyer tells his banker how many poods of hair he is buying—a pood weighs about thirty-six pounds—and if he represents a known and honored house, the cash is advanced, the goods shipped under the ordinary papers of commercial credit, and the seller works his slow way home again.

Most buyers before the war shipped through Riga and Hamburg to London and New York. Now, instead of via the Baltic, the bulk of the business is handled through Vladivostok and our Pacific ports.

It is one of those modest and unheralded industries of which we take little heed. And therein has lain opportunity for the wily German to do his thorough work. Russia has not, nor has ever had, such a thing as a manufactory of hair, and New York and London have been for years returning to her such brushes or cloth as she requires. But on each bale of the raw material as it comes to our shores have been the mystic markings "P. S. S"—Prima Siberianische Schweifer—the hallmark of the Hamburg factor as the goods passed through his hands. Soon we will turn this subtle Teutonic insignia into a label that will signify to our Tartar and Georgian friends that we have decided that hereafter we will take note of these little matters ourselves. We will serve notice that the man who sells us an honest bale of goods is entitled to mark it with his native brand; and that if this is not done we will fall back on plain United States as the insignia to mark our goods hereafter.

At least, that is what should be done as poetic justice. Will it be? A bale of horsehair is a small thing indeed to us. But the lesson might not go unheeded in the picturesque streets of Nijni Novgorod.

W. L. Douglas

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$7.00 $8.00 $9.00 & $10.00 SHOES

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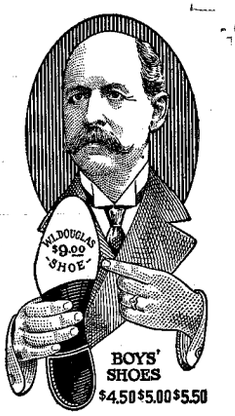

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The best known shoes in the world. They are sold in 107 W. L. Douglas stores, direct from the factory to you at only one profit, which guarantees to you the best shoes that can be produced, at the lowest possible cost. W. L. Douglas name and the retail price are stamped on the bottom of all shoes before they leave the factory, which is your protection against unreasonable profits.

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THE EDITORS OF THE OUTLOOK, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York

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FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT

The Financial Department is prepared to furnish information regarding standard investment securities, but cannot undertake to *advise* the purchase of any specific security. It will give to inquirers facts of record or information resulting from expert investigation, and a nominal charge of one dollar per inquiry will be made for this special service. All letters of inquiry should be addressed to THE OUTLOOK FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York.

WHEN DO THEY MATURE?

HOW many people seek an answer to this question when they buy bonds? How many realize its importance? How many understand that it is usually an important factor in determining the selling price of a bond? It may be that most people know all about this phase of investing, but it is being considered at present more than is usually the case perhaps, and for this reason it may not be amiss to discuss it and mention some of the reasons for its importance.

First of all, money rates are high. Not quite so high as they have been, but still considerably above what we are pleased to call normal. And many times in these articles we have emphasized the fact that because money rates are high security prices are low. A "gilt-edged" bond which used to yield four per cent may now pay five and three-quarters; on a straight-yield basis this bond formerly may have sold at par, and now its price would be about seventy. The selling price of the bond has accommodated itself to money conditions. It will continue to do so, and if money rates decline, as every one expects them to do, this bond will sell correspondingly higher. This is another way of stating the old, and oft-repeated, self-evident fact, that a low-priced bond yields more than a high-priced one whose coupons pay the same rate of interest.

Now, every one wants to get as high a return on his investments as is consistent with safety. As a corollary of this propo-

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ANNOUNCES that it has taken over the business heretofore conducted by the Bond Department of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York.

This separation of the activities of the Guaranty Trust Company is one of corporate organization only. The Guaranty Trust Company owns the entire capital stock of the GUARANTY COMPANY. The officers of the GUARANTY COMPANY were formerly associated with the Guaranty Trust Company, and the board of directors is composed of present and former officers of the Guaranty Trust Company.

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New England—the Pioneer in Public Education

THE same spirit that prompted the first law establishing free public education in New England, created Harvard College in 1636, Yale in 1700, and other schools of higher learning at early dates. Today more than $100,000,000 is invested in her educational institutions, with endowments considerably in excess of that amount.

But it is the little red school house that has contributed most to the knowledge and prosperity of the people. Indeed, the present high percentage of literacy in New England may be directly attributable to the lessons instilled by the stern *New England Primer* of colonial days—lessons that led to an early appreciation of the value of culture and intelligence and to a realization of the community's responsibility to foster education.

While thus ministering to the intellectual needs, New England has also steadily progressed in the commercial world. The Old Colony Trust Company, an institution reared in this spirit of New England initiative and vision, offers every advantage for financial and trust service of the highest order.

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Plan to visit New England during her coming Tercentenary celebrations and while here, make this company's office your banking headquarters.

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During the past year the Financial Department of The Outlook has helped hundreds of Outlook readers to solve intelligently their particular investment problems. Perhaps you are contemplating a shifting of your present holdings or have fresh funds to invest. In either case we shall be glad to give you specific information on any securities in which you may be interested. A nominal charge of one dollar per inquiry will be made for this special service.

The Outlook Financial Department

The Outlook Company, 381 Fourth Avenue, N. Y.

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FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT

(Continued)

sition, he wants this high return to continue. How to bring this about? Preferred stocks are usually available, of course, and the life of a stock is indeterminate, not fixed, as in the case with bonds. If nothing happens to the company issuing the stock, its life theoretically should be endless. But as all people who are at all familiar with investments know, stocks are not as safe as bonds, and the safer a security the better it is as an investment. We shall confine our present discussion to bonds, and take up particularly the question of whether it is more advisable to buy the long or short term variety.

Suppose that two high-grade bonds are selling at prices to yield unusually attractive returns. Suppose one of them comes due and its principal is payable in 1923, while the second does not mature until 1945. Suppose, for the sake of argument, that they are equally well secured, equally salable, and identical in all respects as an investment, save for the question of maturity. Which is the better investment, and, of particular moment, which is the better investment right now?

If, due to the fact that money rates are high, security prices are low, and if this situation is to be reversed, obviously the bond with the longer term of years to run is the better investment. And for this reason. In 1923, when the first bond matures, the general opinion is that money rates will have declined materially from their present high levels, and, this being so, the price of high-grade securities will have advanced. The man who bought this bond would be faced in 1923 with the problem of reinvesting his money, and if security prices are higher at that time he would find it extremely difficult to find a bond of equal merit selling at a price to yield a return equal to the one he has been getting. Suppose, however, that he bought the second bond, the one falling due in 1945. For twenty-five years he is going to get the same high return as he got the very first year; if the cost of living goes down, which is the same thing as saying that the purchasing power of money increases, he is going to be exceptionally well off. He gets a high return now when money does not go as far as it used to go, or as it is expected to go later on, and later on he still gets this high return, which will be even more useful than it is now.

The consensus of the best banking opinion is that the present-day opportunities for profitable investment will not be available again for years to come. The recent demand for high-grade bonds and the consequent advance in prices seem to prove that many investors agree with this opinion. Liberty Bonds, for instance, have registered surprising gains during the past two or three weeks. The sales of bonds have mounted steadily, and some days the activity of the bond market has almost eclipsed the market for stocks. And one feature of the bond market has been the volume of buying orders for the long-term investments. People are insuring their futures with high-grade bonds—railway, industrial, municipal, and Government. What we have said earlier in this article about the advantages of long-term bonds is by no means an original thought of ours, but something the bond houses and banks have been drumming in their clients' ears for many months past. It would seem as if their efforts were bringing results.

Fifteen years from now is it likely that you can buy a Liberty Bond to yield you 5½ per cent? It is more probable that they will be yielding between 3½ and 4 per cent, and selling above par. Do you suppose you can buy a first-mortgage bond of one of our best railway systems to net you 5½ per cent fifteen years from now? It does not seem likely. Why wonder, then, that people are fairly gobbling up bonds of this sort, which they know will yield them 5½ per cent as long as they live, and which they feel morally certain they will not be able to buy on anywhere near so favorable a basis a short time hence? And because there is a general feeling that this is so the long-term bonds are in demand, and they generally sell at prices to yield less than their short-term competitors. This is easy to explain, on the basis that most people reason it out about as follows: It is better to get 5½ per cent for forty years than it is to get 7 per cent for five years and 4¼ for the following thirty-five.

Some people may not agree with this, and very often there are good reasons why a short-term bond may be better suited to an individual's wants and requirements than one of distant maturity. Moreover, it is certainly true that a great many most attractive short-term securities have been sold recently. Most of the railway equipment notes, for instance, have been offered to yield over 7 per cent, and they have not wanted for purchasers. The very fact, however, that practically all of the recent financing has been of the short-term variety shows that the corporations themselves figure that money rates will decline later on and money can be got on better terms to the borrower; therefore they do not want to commit themselves to the high rates now obtaining for any longer than they can help. When money rates are low is the time when the corporations usually issue their long-term bonds, and money rates have been low many times. There are scores of bonds now available which were issued at such times and they still have many years to run—some nearly a hundred. They can be bought on most favorable terms. For the investor who is thinking of the years to come, his old age perhaps, they offer many attractions. Certainly it would do no harm to ask, before buying any bonds, "When do they mature?"

QUESTION AND ANSWER

Q. Please inform me about the capitalization of the American Sumatra Tobacco Company and the present rate of dividends.

A. There is authorized $2,000,000 of 7 per cent cumulative preferred, of which $1,963,500 is outstanding. Common is authorized to the amount of $25,000,000, with $14,447,200 outstanding. Both classes of stock have a par value of $100. There are also outstanding $6,664,000 7½ per cent convertible gold bonds due June 1, 1925. The preferred stock has preference to cumulative dividends of 7 per cent per annum, and no dividends can be paid on the common which would reduce cash and quick assets above all indebtedness below an amount equal to 125 per cent of the par value of the outstanding preferred. In the event of dissolution or liquidation the preferred is entitled to 110 and dividends. Seven per cent is being paid on the preferred, and the common is paying 10 per cent at the present time.

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